LM
NOVEMBER 1975
Founded 1921 by R. Palme Dutt
LABOUR MONTHLY
A MAGAZINE OF LEFT UNITY · 35p

Andrew Rothstein
Capitalist Crisis, Socialist Advance

Betty Sinclair
Northern Ireland

Andrew Bennett MP
Children— A Battered Service

Carlos Plácido
Portugal

Ivor Montagu/The Blue Moderates
G. Pefkos/Cyprus : Tess Gill/USSR

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY

Acting Editor: Andrew Rothstein Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot
Managing Editor: Nicola Seyd

VOL 57 No 11 NOVEMBER 1975

CONTENTS

		Page
Capitalist Crisis, Socialist Advance	**Andrew Rothstein**	481
The Blue Moderates	**Ivor Montagu**	488
Fifty Years Ago		490
Northern Ireland	**Betty Sinclair**	492
What's Good for IPC...	**John Ball**	499
'No Suitable Jobs'	**Steve Moorcroft**	501
'Give a Year for Britain'. Cartoon by *Ron*		504
First View of the Soviet Union	**Tess Gill**	506
Portugal: Revolution and Counter-Revolution	**Carlos Plácido**	509
Partition of Cyprus!	**George Pefkos**	512
Children: A Battered Service. A case of non-accidental injury	**Andrew Bennett MP**	517
Diego Garcia Scandal—Another Watergate	**Cmdr E. P. Young**	519
Correspondence: 'Trade Union Education', *A. J. Topham* and *J. R. Shanley*		522
Book Reviews: 'British Trade Unionism', Allen Hutt: *Alan Brown*; 'Crisis and Criticism', Alick West: *Ben Ainley*		526
Looking Back—And Forward	**Nicola Seyd**	528
Publications Received		Inside back cover

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITALIST CRISIS, SOCIALIST ADVANCE

'Such business interests, British and Russian, as we have been able to consult are unanimous in the opinion that no economic improvement can be expected so long as the Bolshevik regime continues. We agree in this view. There are no indications of the Bolsheviks being capable of bringing about any economic reconstruction.'

Report of British government's economic mission to Moscow (sent to keep the Bolsheviks amused while invasion of Russia was being prepared), August 1, 1918.

'Throughout the world the bourgeoisie is raging and fuming against Bolshevism, and is organising military expeditions, plots, etc, against the Bolsheviks, just because it fully realises that our success in reconstructing the social economy is inevitable, providing we are not crushed by military force.'

V. I. LENIN, 'Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', *Pravda*, November 7, 1919.

'This is a good time for Anglo-Soviet trade. . . . The Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD) was known to give the Soviet Union a top A rating. . . . It is generally agreed that Britain is now well placed to take advantage of Soviet appetite for capitalist goods. . . . A tendency exists perhaps among non-specialists to underestimate the advances of Soviet science. . . . Once a contract has been signed, there are few business men who could say that the Russians have not honoured their obligations. . . . Few international corporations can match Gosplan, the state agency which calculates supply and demand. . . Russia has the facility to produce industrial plant. . . . The Soviet market is so vast that it is almost impossible to cover completely. . . . The Soviet central buying agencies will expect the very highest performance standards, and will ask for very comprehensive guarantees.'

Times special report on Anglo-Soviet trade, September 22, 1975.

October 16, 1975

Such are the changes which have made the Soviet Union, on this fifty-eighth anniversary of the first socialist revolution, November 7, 1917, the greatest single influence determining world history today. But first turn to Blackpool, while the echoes of the Labour Party Conference are still a reminder of the continuing struggle for socialism in this island—echoes which the well-publicised threats at the Tory Conference cannot drown, indeed they only reinforce. Of course, the capitalist newspapers and the establishment-ridden BBC made the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most of the Transport Workers' Union supporting the Labour government by endorsing the figure of £6 per week rises to counter inflation. Of course they squeezed all the satisfaction they could out of the quarrel between Jack Jones and Ian Mikardo at the *Tribune* meeting over Mikardo's criticism of the leadership of trade unions. But they skipped as quickly as they could over the fact that the Labour government's spokesmen had made £6 a maximum, while for the trade unions it had already been accepted for everybody. And the conditions laid down by the unions—that there should be genuine control of prices, real measures to reduce unemployment, effective import controls, direction of investments—were mentioned as little as possible.

Triumph Tempered with Fear

But the really significant feature of the conference—that all its deliberations took place against a background of deepening capitalist crisis, which a government of right-wing Labour or the resolutions it promotes cannot cure—emerged from Fleet Street's grunts of satisfaction themselves. For almost without exception triumph was tempered with a fear that the 'victory' might prove short-lived. 'Ministers may lose their nerve as the unemployment figures soar. The trade unions may refuse to accept restraint as economic conditions worsen. It would be facile to leap to optimistic conclusions on the evidence of Blackpool,' said a *Times* leading article on October 3. 'Will the policy survive more than a year of high unemployment and income restraint?' it rammed home next day. 'If this time next year the economic situation and the unemployment figures are still bad, then Mr Wilson could be in deep trouble with the unions and his party,' echoed the *Daily Telegraph* the same day. On October 6, the *Times* returned to the theme with a warning about critical months of economic stress ahead: 'If the international economy fails to revive as quickly as hoped, if unemployment soars, if inflation and the balance of payments do not permit reflation as production drops, then the complaints could start in earnest. That is what the hard left will be waiting for.' And so on, in great volume. Of course, what the *Times* calls the hard left are those socialists who were in agreement with Tony Benn when he declared on October 1: 'We are not here just to manage capitalism but to change society.' More explicitly, as was shown in these columns last month, they stand for the real advance to socialism by shifting economic and political power decisively away from the capitalists, by deep inroads into their property. Needless to say they are not the kind of people

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(and the economic situation will not allow them) to 'wait' as the *Times* imagines.

Gloomy City Forecasts

One need not go far for evidence that its fears for the policy of Labour management of capitalism are justified. Surveying five different forecasts for the British economy by the chief economic and commercial research organisations of the City, the business page of the *Times* writes (October 9): 'Continuing recession, accompanied by a further gradual deceleration of inflation, is predicted by all main forecasting units for 1976. Despite the widely expected recovery in world trade, most forecasts are for slow export growth and another large balance of payments deficit.' Next day the newspaper's economic staff continued: 'General living standards fell faster in Britain early this summer than at any time for at least twenty years... It is now almost certain that the virtually unbroken annual rise in living standards since the war [!] will be arrested this summer. . . . Unemployment, short-time working and the loss of overtime are likely to put further pressure on earnings at a time when prices are still rising rapidly. . . . There can now be no doubt that the severity of present economic recession will be far greater than anything experienced in the past 35 years.' And this is neither something in which real socialists rejoice (despite the idiot chorus about 'disrupters of the economy' heard at both Labour and Tory conferences in October) nor is it something created by 'too much socialism'—the brazen assertion of Mrs Margaret Thatcher. 'Socialism' which leaves monopoly capitalism in control of the economy, moving from boom to slump, from 'go' to 'stop'—but always at the expense of the working class and those who depend on it: that is what Britain has had too much of, just as it has had too much of Tory policy which does the same thing. These paramount issues of the day—the economic, political and moral crisis into which capitalism has plunged British society, and the road out of it which socialism alone offers (with all due respect to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others who are busy burying Marxism for the thousand-and-first time)—are dominant in the main resolutions to be debated this month at the 34th Congress of the Communist Party.

'Social Democrats' and *Labour Monthly*

There can be little doubt that it was general awareness at the Labour Party Conference of the continuing deterioration of the economy, and therefore of the certainty that the issue of socialism

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

versus 'moderation' in the Labour Party will become still more acute, that pricked the bubble of the furious attack made by the 'Social Democratic Alliance' on National Executive Committee members writing for *Labour Monthly* and the *Morning Star* (September 28). It will be appropriate to reproduce the statement issued to the press by *Labour Monthly* on September 30:

> This independent journal was founded to reflect and interpret events at home and abroad, in the British and international working class movement, in the light of Marxism. As R. P. Dutt, editor from July 1921 to December 1974, wrote, *Labour Monthly* from the very first has maintained 'an open, consistent adherence to the principles of Marxism, class solidarity and internationalism'.
>
> Throughout it has invited the participation of a wide range of contributors who were not necessarily committed to its editorial policy or shared a uniform outlook.
>
> Among Labour Party members were George Lansbury and Aneurin Bevan, Harold Laski and G. D. H. Cole, Herbert Smith and A. J. Cook, H. N. Brailsford and Ellen Wilkinson, Ted Hill and Dick Coppock. Among famous writers were Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell and Compton Mackenzie, Leonard Woolff and H. W. Nevinson. Among people of international fame were Nehru and Gandhi, Professor J. D. Bernal and Romain Rolland. It is as absurd to suggest that these were enemies of the Labour Party as to imagine that they did not know what they were doing.
>
> Today *Labour Monthly* welcomes contributions from active members of the British working class movement, without regard to party label, who stand for left unity, i.e. for consistent socialism, against the Tories and Tory policy, whatever form it takes.

Tories in Trade Unions

Elsewhere in this number Ivor Montagu reviews the torrent of threats against the working class uttered at the Conservative Party Conference. One may here comment on the absurdity of the appeal that Tory working men should come with that troglodyte programme to trade union branches in this age of capitalist crisis and sharpening class struggle. If any party in the past has ever shown vicious hostility to trade unionism—from the battle to secure legal rights for unions in the 1820s to the giant struggles of the twentieth century, alike over the Taff Vale Decision of 1901 and the infamous Trades Disputes and Trade Union Act of 1927—it has been the Tories. Even the propounder of the appeal at Blackpool, Alastair Burnet (editor of the *Daily Express*) said on October 8 that it was impossible to conceive of a Conservative government being able to govern or being able to put through policies its leaders were all proposing

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'without having major differences of policy with many unions, and it was impossible to ignore the probability of a conflict from the very beginning' (*Times*, October 9). And the *Economist*, loyal backer of Toryism in practice though it is, drily commented (October 11) that the Tories will have to 'refrain from making the kind of anti-union tribal noises that will make the efforts they are asking from the rank and file both unpleasant and impossible.' That mouthpiece of City of London wisdom, however, refrained from explaining how the Tories will be able to do that with Mrs Thatcher's fervent preaching of inequality for a start. And, to descend from the sublime to the ridiculous, let the Tory working man come with that preaching to the trade union branch with Harrods' advertisements of the 'Super 100' suits at £180, the 'classic city overcoat' at £140 or Garrard's offer of the 'lady's watch' at £580!

Latest in Anti-Sovietism

With questions like these dominating the newspaper headlines and the propaganda of the BBC, what should one expect of their 'information' about the Soviet Union? To the ever more complicated problems of everyday life and work under capitalism corresponds an ever more murky torrent of anti-Soviet falsehood, distortion and incitement. No little pin-prick is too dirty, no lie too monstrous for those to whom the immense achievements of the USSR—cultural, economic, political—are a daily reminder of defeat after defeat. There is the almost daily lie about a Soviet 'base' in the Somali Republic, exposed by the Somali authorities themselves, or the constant lie about millions of dollars 'sent' from the USSR to the Portuguese Communists (not the slightest evidence even suggested). If President Gomes of Portugal visits the USSR his reception is 'cool': in reality he is met by President Podgorny and Foreign Minister Gromyko with full state honours, negotiates with them and with Leonid Brezhnev for several days, and is cheered wherever he goes. If the Soviet Union proposes a series of cuts in armies and armaments at the Vienna Conference, stories immediately appear about the 'Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean!' If the Soviet Union proposes that all foreign navies and armed forces be withdrawn from the Indian Ocean, the cry goes up: 'What about Soviet nuclear long-range rockets?' If the Soviet Union proposes (as it did on September 12) the total prohibition of all nuclear testing—which would end the nuclear rocket menace—the cry goes up that it won't allow inspection of testing sites (although the Pentagon and other intelligence agencies have long been able to announce Soviet under-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ground explosions whenever they took place). When Academician Sakharov, notorious for his abuse of Soviet education, health services, the Soviet economy generally, coupled with a programme of thinly disguised counter-revolution (all vouchsafed in 1973 to the Swedish radio), together with his cable to the Chilean junta about the 'epoch of regeneration and consolidation' produced by them (exposed in our columns two years ago this month), is awarded a Nobel Peace Prize (!) by provocateurs sitting in the Norwegian parliament, British newspapers and the BBC strive to outdo each other in slobbering over his alleged devotion to 'human rights'. They ignore the sarcastic remarks, for example, by both Conservative and Social Democratic papers in Sweden that the award is 'incomprehensible' and 'gross opportunism' and that 'playing politics with peace prizes is not likely to contribute to detente.'

Fury at Soviet Successes

But all these and similar outbursts—like the whoops of joy at the news of a poor grain harvest in the Ukraine (as in Britain and other Common Market countries this year)—are only the expressions of fury that, while the countries of capitalism are becoming more deeply involved in economic difficulties and the political conflicts to which those difficulties give rise, the outstanding country of socialism can show outstanding successes. Moreover, if British capitalists pretend not to notice them, they find themselves left behind by their commercial rivals elsewhere: another point made again and again in the *Times* special report quoted at the head of this editorial. The whole year's economic results in the USSR are not out at the time of writing, but industry after industry, region after region is already reporting over-fulfilment of the year's plan. Despite the bad weather conditions this year, region after region is reporting fulfilment of its agricultural plans. Real wages have risen steadily all through the present five year plan (1971-75): so have pensioners' incomes—all thanks primarily to stable or falling prices. Never, even in the Soviet Union, have women advanced to such responsible positions in industry, agriculture, education and public life generally as they hold today. Practically every young person in the USSR today has a full 'comprehensive' education—from 7 to 17—open to him or her: even in the more than 5,000 technical and vocational schools set up for young people who left middle school before the present facilities were available, by 1975 more than half are providing full secondary education as well. Individual participation by workers in all kinds of amateur artistic, musical and literary activities—not to

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speak of sports—have reached unprecedented heights. Their political awareness and opportunities are illustrated by two stupendous figures: 30 million men and women in town and country voluntarily co-operating in the public services with the 2½ million elected councillors, members of the soviets; and some 34 million among the 105 million trade unionists who voluntarily take on unpaid functions as safety inspectors, price and catering controllers, health and social insurance supervisors, cultural organisers, or members (nearly six million of them) of the works production conferences which control the drawing up and fulfilment of plans and collective agreements.

Lenin Called In Workers

When the Russian bourgeoisie, deprived at a blow of their control of the levers of power by the October revolution in November 1917, organised systematic sabotage in government offices and economic enterprise alike, the Bolsheviks called in sympathetic workers from the factories to take the place of the (middle class) strikers.

> Workers from the Siemens-Schuckert Electrical Engineering Factory in Petrograd, together with skilled men from the Baltic Fleet, took up jobs in the Foreign Ministry. Others from the great Putilov Shipyard in the same city went to work in the Home Ministry. Many workers from the Vyborg industrial district of Petrograd supplied staff for the Ministry of Education. Railwaymen, metal workers and cotton operatives went to replace saboteurs at the Ministry of Labour. And when workmen, recruited for posts in another ministry, came to Lenin asking to be released to go back to their factory because they had had no experience and things were going badly, Vladimir Ilyich said: 'I have never run the state either, but the party and the people have entrusted the job to me, and I must justify their confidence. I advise you to do the same.'

This reminder from a recent Soviet historical article (I. Brainin, in *Novy Mir*, April 1975) explains both why the highly-placed British bureaucrats and businessmen (Sir George Clerk of the Foreign Office, Leslie Urquhart of Siberian fame, and others) made such a bloomer in August 1918, and the traditions which (in spite of all deserters, faint-hearts and detractors) have brought the Soviet Union to towering strength in 1975.

Andrew Rothstein

CORRECTION

Several readers have drawn my attention to a bad slip in my article on Angela Davis (*LM*, October 1975): 'Michael X' when I meant 'Malcolm X'. I apologise.

KEN GILL

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BLUE MODERATES

Ivor Montagu

WHEN I was a boy I saw the great Tommy Burns, one-time contender for the championship of the world, come out to fight my pal, Joe Beckett. He wore a Union Jack around his waist above his trunks and every time that Joe sank his fist into that ample belly the audience booed.

These colours have always been Tory protective armour. A Union Jack waved at Blackpool (some say it came from Hong Kong or even from Taiwan), and there was plenty of the same in the speeches, but this time the red was cast upon the floor and ceremonially burned. This year was to be a rhapsody in blue. A blue frock on the stage, blue rinses in the stalls, even a symbolical blue duster.

The 'turn to the right'.

The world is moving, not only the labour movement but the whole climate of Britain. The Conservative Party has had to respond. It has changed, not for the better. From patricianism to populism. There is a scent of middle class *Poujadisme* in the air. Worse still, middle class demagogy to mask big business—the formula for Hitlerism, English style.

Fear was in the air and there was something hollow in the stage-managed triumphs. The Harold Wilson jibe about Labour's succession to the role of natural governing party had evidently got under skins. Where Labour had openly indulged in discussion of principle and policy, the controllers here dared not allow doubt to surface. Willie Whitelaw's soft soap had to be called in to prevent a hand-vote minority of one to two on a resolution reproving the Opposition's work in parliament from being formally counted.

Beggars cannot be choosers. Never was a Tory shadow cabinet so patently second eleven as Mrs Thatcher's team: has-beens like Thorneycroft, Maude, Whitelaw, Maudling and Hailsham; never-wasers like St John Stevas, Howe, Prior and Joseph; never-will-bes like Heseltine, Joplin, Rossi, Raison and Fowler—who in their senses would pay tuppence for the lot? But, swans absent, geese must suffice. In such a setting, Maggie's clear bell-like tones and her careful collection of clichés stood out like gospel and herself like a ruthless pop-star.

Her speech has rightly been acclaimed as clever, beautifully tailored to its task. Hitler's targets were more ambitious: Today—Germany. Tomorrow—the World. Maggie's, as yet, are more modest: Today—Blackpool. Tomorrow—Downing Street. One trick at a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time. She said everything this audience wanted to hear said. And she explained nothing, committed herself to nothing. In the words of the South Sea Bubble prospectus: 'An enterprise of the utmost profit. No one to know what it is.' Fifty years back, in the last recurrence of capitalism's economic crises, the electorate was asked for a 'doctor's mandate'. Now the same placebo, in a skirt.

The shadow ministers were less discreet. As the *Times* (October 10) put it: 'Struggling through the jungle of words that invariably, on these occasions, surrounds even the soundest of policy statements . . . those in search of the promised land will [find] at least the basic structure.'

—'Unequivocal commitment to lower taxes' (but for some less equivocal than others, i.e. 'not swiftly or immediately');

—'Drastic cuts in expenditure'—not in arms, of course; on the contrary, increased role for Nato in the Indian Ocean and northern North Sea. Also, of course, aid (unspecified) to home buyers of local government housing, farmers and small business men—all, hopefully, Tory voters;

—Reduction of subsidies for municipalities, food, losses of nationalised industry and council housing; abandonment of nationisation plans for aircraft, shipbuilding, North Sea oil (give it away), British Leyland (hive it off), the docks and the land;

—Repeal: the Community Land Bill, the Industry Bill. Restore: direct grant schools, pay-beds in the National Health Service;

—*Freedom for business,* by removing price controls, dividend restraints and any barriers to choice of investment.

—*Freedom for trade unions,* by stopping social service payments to members of strikers' families and by compulsory postal ballots for election of union officials (thus ensuring a good democratic participation of those members who never come to meetings or hear arguments except from press, radio or television).

—*Equality of opportunity* (Mrs Thatcher is very hot on this) by enabling the rich to pay for better schooling and better medical treatment than anybody else.

Quite a collection—for moderation.

Moderation was also expounded by Sir Keith Joseph. He is a very peculiar man. His job in the shadow cabinet is to *think*; he studies policy. Yet thinking, it is very evident in TV close-up, is very painful for him. He cannot understand why everyone of common sense does not come to the same conclusions that are obvious to him. His eyes go glassy with unhappiness when anyone shows by a question that they do not yet agree. He tries desperately to explain but the gift of clarity has been denied to him.

It was thus with his great terminological discovery—supplanting Ted—that what Tories should seek is not 'middle ground' but

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'common ground'. Apparently he had a special session with the press, after his speech at the Conference, and a special appearance on TV, before anyone could understand. Now all is clear—what he means is not compromise but that everyone should move over to join him. Asked if he thought this likely, he answered: Why not? Wilson and Healey have already discovered that he, Joseph, was right in believing unemployment the only way to combat inflation; perhaps others will learn from facts too. A man like Mr Crosland, he is sure, would like to free himself from shibboleths, and Mr Foot, he says, has learned a key lesson.

Moreover, the deep trouble with our country, Sir Keith has reflected, is that British governments are liable to change colour every year. Business, therefore Britain, needs stability. Though arrangements must be made for the common ground to stay common for at least a generation. For Sir Keith, indeed, is not a dry man of intellect alone. He is a man of heart and tells us so. He would like

---

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council met on September 17, after the Trades Union Congress at Scarborough and, in the light of its ratification of the agreement decided upon in April, published a report. After recalling that both responsible bodies have now ratified the decisions, and emphasising the previous joint pronouncements on the need for unity, it proceeds:

'The industrial and economic situation, aggravated by the Dawes plan in most of the countries, has become worse since the beginning of this year. Unemployment is world-wide in its effects and is steadily increasing. . . .

'The establishment of an all-inclusive world-wide Trade Union International has therefore become more necessary than ever. The world-wide and active sympathy aroused by the creation of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council amongst the workers of all countries is an unmistakable proof of the justice and correctness of the line taken by the Anglo-Russian Conference of the practical proposals adopted, and of the inevitable success of the cause of national and international trade union unity. The Joint Advisory Council, prompted by the firm desire ardently expressed by more than 11,000,000 British and Russian workers, appeals to the workers of every country, to their organisations and leaders, to join their efforts with the British and Russian trade union movements, in order to secure the removal of all obstacles and difficulties in the way of national and international working class unity, and to help them to bring into existence one all-inclusive world-wide federation of trade unions.

'*On behalf of the All-Russian Trade Union Council*—M. TOMSKY.
'*On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress General Council*
—FRED BRAMLEY.'

(From 'Trade Union Unity: Anglo-Russian Report', *Labour Monthly*, November 1925)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the poor to be well, well-educated, well-housed, indeed well-off, and at work. But, he tells us outright, none of this can happen unless businesses are profitable. Riches for the poor come out of the profits of the rich. He appears to believe this. In spite of the lessons of history and the columns of the *Financial Times*.

If this is not original, at least his latest idea for the trade unions is. Collective bargaining *must* be free, but it is quite easy to combine this with wages policy. All the government has to do is to put a receiver in whenever a firm runs into trouble through paying too high wages.

Perhaps he had better think this one out again.

Sir Keith is known to the vulgar as Maggie's *guru*.

One thing at least she has *not* learned from her mentor, but picked up possibly from Morley's *Life of Gladstone*: 'Never explain.'

The keynote of her discourse was that the present is not a crisis of capitalism, it is a crisis of socialism. She considered it needless to enter into the question how this could be so when—the twin features of said crisis having been identified by her as inflation and unemployment—neither of these ills is known to the socialist third of the world's three thousand million population. Nor did she scruple to blame Harold alone for both in Britain where their incidence is less than in many other of the capitalist countries.

Mythological monsters—Harold*, Healey*, shop stewards, trade union leaders, extremists, as well as wonder-workers such as law and order and the silent majority—figured large in the vocabulary of this conference. The real world—at home and abroad†—was not invited, nor, had it obtruded, would it have been welcome. After all, Maggie's position had been made sufficiently clear by her onslaught on detente preceding the Helsinki Conference, and her visit in all finery to the United States—like some tributary medieval Russian princeling visiting for approval his Tartar overlord—before the investiture at Blackpool.

There she declared: 'Democracy is on trial.' And if it fails to pass the test and move to 'common ground'? What then? Well, there is always the CIA and perhaps the army.

* These belong to the Tory devil's Pantheon, the conference made clear, in so far that they commit treason to their obvious real beliefs by failing to deal adequately with their left, and thus save the Conservatives the trouble of doing so.

† The chief reference to foreign affairs was Maudling's promise that the British Tories would tie up with their opposite numbers in 'Europe' the more effectively to oppose socialism—and his demand that Britain should insist on elections to the European Assembly being by our first-past-the-post system instead of the proportional representation system favoured by lesser continental breeds—as this would give the Tories more seats. (Honest—at least.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NORTHERN IRELAND

Betty Sinclair

SUCCESSIVE governments in Britain, since the struggle for democratic rights opened out in Northern Ireland in the autumn of 1968, have more and more attempted to impress on the people of Britain that the struggle is one in which the main factor is that of religious differences, i.e. Protestant and Catholic differences and, since June 1970, when the Tories came to power in Britain, the need to restore 'law and order'. In the days and nights of violence; the deaths (upwards of 1,400) that have taken place; the continuance of internment since August 1971; the imprisonment of many thousands; loss of homes, jobs, small businesses and large scale destruction of property: the reason for the struggle for democratic rights has been lost sight of—or deliberately suppressed.

From the inception of the Northern Ireland statelet, which consisted of six Irish counties and contained one million Protestants and half-a-million Catholics, the determination of the Northern Ireland Unionists and successive British governments has been to maintain the one-party rule of the Unionists, in the interests of British imperialism and to enable the latter to keep a hold on the politics and the economy of the rest of Ireland (26 counties). The Unionists were given *carte blanche* in the running of the statelet, and were allowed to practice discrimination in every shape and form against the Catholic section of the population and any and all forms of political opposition which might arise—and not least opposition from the trade union and labour movement. The Government of Ireland Act, 1920, prevented the passing of any legislation which would have militated against persons on the grounds of religion, and, therefore, no legislation was passed in this respect, excepting after the second world war when a Bill which would have cut down the state payment of teachers in Catholic schools had to be thrown out.

But the Unionists had surer ways of preventing the opposition from gaining any strength. With their inbuilt majority at the polling booths for central and local government, the Unionists maintained control of all the apparatus of state. This also provided that employment in these spheres would remain a 'perk' of the 'loyal' population. In the sphere of local government, the Unionists had control of the provision of housing and in this way prevented an 'imbalance' in the voting pattern. Also, in controlling central and local government, contracts in the realm of public expenditure were, in the main,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

awarded to the business people, big and small, who were 'loyal' to Unionism and the link with Britain.

As in central and local government, the pattern was repeated in the field of private industry and commerce. Before the division of the country, private industry was in the hands of those who espoused the Unionist cause, men and women who had provided the funds to buy arms in 1912 to fight against the seeming intention of the British Liberal government of the day to grant a measure of home rule to Ireland. Such control enabled these forces to give employment on a political basis to manual and professional workers who were also 'loyal'.

In order to ensure that the political opposition would be completely cowed, the Northern Ireland Civil Powers Act, 1922, was introduced and remained in being until July 1973, when the Westminster government superseded it with the Emergency Provisions Act. Under the former Act, all democratic rights could be suspended when thought necessary by the Unionist administration. Ostensibly the Act was to be used against 'republicans', but it could be and was used against the unemployed in 1932 and members of the Communist Party in 1933. The Act, as an instrument, was on a par with repressive legislation brought in by the Hitler regime in 1933 and later by the apartheid state of South Africa after the second world war. The cornerstone of the Act was the right to intern without trial and, not least, suspension of habeas corpus.

It is not surprising, in such conditions, that the number of Roman Catholics within the state never grew to any further strength; it remained, and remains, at one-third of the population: this despite all the taunts of the Unionists that Catholics had a much higher birth-rate than the Protestants, and the fear of the latter, in one of their less elegant expressions, that they would be 'outbred'. The Catholic section of the population, when they came of working age found it difficult to obtain employment and had either to live their life on the 'dole' or emigrate. Those who wanted to marry and set up homes were dependent on the local authorities, and again they found there was 'no room at the inn', and lack of homes was an additional factor in driving them overseas. After the second world war, the Unionists refused to introduce universal suffrage for local government elections. Only the husband and his spouse could register their votes for change, no matter how many persons there were in the family of voting age for the Stormont and Westminster elections.

The absence of democratic rights in the fields of employment, social needs and in politics was complete. In the whole history of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stormont administration, the nationalist opposition succeeded in only one instance in having a measure which they proposed accepted by the Stormont parliament—it had to do with protection of wild fowl! Never was there any likelihood of measures affecting the people they represented being accepted. The inbuilt Unionist majority threw all such proposals out at the first reading.

As far as the working class was concerned, the Unionists sought their allegiance and subservience through the Unionist Party and Orange Order, and their boast was that both catered for the upper and middle classes *and* the working class. No Catholic could become a member of the Unionist Party and no person of that party was allowed to be elected to the parliament unless he was a member of the Orange Order. The Unionist Party, in its set-up and councils, provided for the inclusion of the Order at all levels and not least in the higher councils. This was provided for the first constitution of the Unionist Party in 1905.

By these means, the Unionists could defy the efforts of workers to build the labour movement. Whilst the trade union movement was potentially strong and active in the industrial field, every effort was exerted by the Unionists to gain the adherence of the Protestant section of the working class in the political field when the Ulster Labour Unionist Association was set up in 1919. This followed the great strike in that year for the 44-hour week, when the city of Belfast was controlled by the Belfast Trades Council and its affiliated unions. The labour movement in Britain was, in those days, going from strength to strength—but the Unionists were determined that the British pattern would not be followed in Northern Ireland. When, during the long years, it was possible that the Protestant section of the working class would escape from their grasp, the Unionists would issue the old battle cries against 'Rome Rule' and an 'all-Ireland Republic'. Loyalty to the Unionist Party became synonymous with 'loyalty' to the Stormont parliament.

In order to circumvent this opposition, leaders of the Northern Ireland Labour Party maintained that the workers should fight on 'bread and butter issues', and hoped that, by accepting or ignoring the division of the country and accepting the 'constitution', i.e. the 1920 Act and the link with Britain, they would be able to win the workers and secure control of Stormont. Always the NILP were driven with their backs to the wall to accept the basic tenets of Unionism, and never succeeded in gaining more than four seats out of 52 in the Stormont parliament. On two occasions, in 1929 and in the fifties, they succeeded in having four MPs, but the Unionists

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'righted' this position in succeeding elections by use of the old shibboleths.

If all those measures were not successful in holding the Protestant section of the working class in the fold of Unionism, there was the 'ultimate weapon' of the pogrom. The Catholic workers were presented as a danger to the Protestant workers and the 'Ulster way of life', and were attacked in their homes and chased from their places of employment. The history of the Stormont state is studded with pogroms which became an additional way of 'assisting' Catholic families to leave the area and seek work and peace in some other country.

The struggle for democratic rights was launched in 1968 in order to break this all-embracing stranglehold on normal politics in Northern Ireland. The first slogans which were put forward were modest indeed: the abolition of discrimination in public employment, the abolition of discrimination in the allocation of homes in the public section and the repeal of the Special Powers Act. They were sufficient to call out full-scale resistance by the state, complete with a police force armed to the hilt and the use of the 'B' Specials (also armed) which were looked upon as the private army of the Unionist Party, especially in the border areas of counties Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, South Down and South Armagh.

In the years that have passed since 1968, successive British governments, Tory and Labour, never attempted to eradicate the undemocratic rule of the Unionists. Very few of the necessary reforms have been introduced, either at Stormont level, or at Westminster since the introduction of direct rule in March 1972. The Callaghan Reform Package of 1969, following the outbreak of the present pogrom, might have been useful if the Wilson government of the day had been more bold and had not expected the Unionists to carry it out. Callaghan expected the Unionists, by putting the implementation of the reforms in their hands, to cut their own throats!

The situation has gone from bad to worse, mainly because no British government, which had, and has, the prime responsibility, has ever indicated their real intentions on Northern Ireland. Hiding behind the Unionist battle cry—'You can't put one million Protestants into an Irish Republic'—and refusing to reveal the real role played in the interests of British monopoly capital, which controls the economic life of the area, they seek a middle way: to create a centrist alliance of the Protestant and Catholic middle class.

The Northern Ireland Assembly, brain-child of the British Tories,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and its hand-picked Executive (which lasted only five months in 1974) met the full wrath of the paramilitary Unionist groups in May 1974 when the area was paralysed and the forces of 'law and order', including the British Army, stood by. The Wilson government, which in opposition had supported the Tory plans, dismissed the Executive after the Faulkner Unionists gave up the ghost. The Social Democrat and Labour Party (SDLP) and the Alliance Party refused to put in their resignations and were summarily dismissed by the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees.

Direct rule was again brought in and efforts begun again to set up a centrist alliance with the aid of a Consultative Convention wherein the elected representatives of the various parties would consider proposals for a structure with which to run Northern Ireland. The parties were, and are, required to bring in proposals for presentation to the Westminster parliament which would be acceptable to the majority of the people in Northern Ireland and Westminster, and which would be based on 'power-sharing' between the Unionists and other political parties, especially the SDLP. Discussions have gone on over the past months within the Convention sittings and privately between the parties. It is clear, from recent reports, that practically all the parties have accepted the 'constitutional position', i.e. the link with Britain. All but the United Ulster Unionist Coalition have accepted the need for power-sharing. All the parties, excepting the SDLP, have thrown out the proposal for a formal link with the Irish Republic but want to have economic links based on no formal platform. The UUUC have accepted the need for a 'coalition government' in 'times of emergency'.

On the latter premise, the SDLP went a long way in agreement with the UUUC, but the UUUC proposal, when put forward by William Craig of the Vanguard Party as a means of getting together in the shortest time possible, was rejected by both Paisley (Democratic Unionist Party) and West (the Official Unionist Party). Craig spelt out his reasoning to his Central Council on October 11, and his proposals were accepted by a 128 to 78 vote. Immediately after the vote, nine Vanguard Convention representatives resigned, as well as one of their Imperial MPs (Mid-Ulster). Contained within the struggle is the fight for leadership within the UUUC, especially between Craig and Paisley. West is in a subordinate position in this struggle: he is faced with the ire of the Unionists of Fermanagh and the fears of many Official Unionists as to where the archbigot Paisley will take them, if he succeeds in dominating the Unionist Alliance.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Craig still considers his Party part of the Alliance. Paisley and company are calling for his dismissal. The defectors from his Party, whose resignation has left him in a weak position within the Alliance and Convention, will either link up with Paisley or West, or form a new party. The attempt to obtain unity of the Unionist forces, which Powell has been working for (he is now lecturing in South Africa, where Lord George Brown is also lecturing!) since the beginning of the year, has come up against the rocks of manoeuvring by Craig (he visualises that an 'emergency coalition' would last for about five years and then matters would revert to 'normal', i.e. Unionist rule) and the intransigence of the ultras led by Paisley and West who are convinced that, if they stick it out, Westminster will 'give' them back 'their Stormont parliament'.

The paramilitary groups on the Unionist ultra-right await the outcome of the political struggle. The UDA, which was responsible for the 'strike' of May 1974, are supporting Craig. The press in the Republic, Northern Ireland and Britain support the Craig proposals. Fear is growing in all circles that the political and military struggles will be joined by struggles on the industrial front as factories close down and unemployment shoots up—in 'loyalist' areas. The Belfast Shipyard is on its 'last chance'. The aircraft factory urgently requires capital if it is to continue. The Rolls-Royce factory has been excluded from plans for British industry and needs capital investment. The Royal Naval Aircraft Repair Yard is due to close. The Larne, Co Antrim, factory in the Standard Telegraph and Cable consortium (subsidiary of ITT), employing nearly 700 workers, is due to close down. The Goodyear Rubber company is pruning its workforce. In the clothing, footwear and other light industries closures and pay-offs are coming thick and fast. The fear is growing among the Protestant section of the working class that they are about to be abandoned by Britain, and their 'assured position' in employment will be lost. In the fields of employment in central and local government—stretching right over all the fields of public employment—the order of the day is for cuts in public expenditure and hence the loss of jobs, not least for the thousands of school-leavers still 'signing on' after the last school term.

The trade union leadership has been active on the employment front, and workers are again learning that the politics of the Unionist cabal are of little use to them in their desire for security of employment. They are also beginning to realise that they have little or no weapons at government level with which to fight against mass unemployment which, in September, accounted for 10.6 per cent of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all insured workers, not counting married women who did not pay the full national insurance contribution.

Merlyn Rees has told the people of Northern Ireland that they will have to come up with proposals for future structures for governing Northern Ireland. At the same time, he does nothing to bring about a normality that would enable the people to reason out their future. No attempt has been made to end the internment, the harassment of anti-Unionist areas by the British armed forces, to enact a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland, or make clear British intent as far as the future of the area is concerned.

The intentions of the Wilson Labour government were adequately portrayed when, at the 1975 Labour Conference, the situation in Northern Ireland was not discussed. All attempts to have the matter put on the agenda were side-tracked. Wilson later told the BBC that they 'did not want to be seen as interfering in Northern Ireland affairs'! A likely story, especially during a period of direct rule from Westminster! The Tory Party 1975 Conference also refused to discuss the situation, and would not even allow West (Official Unionist Party, who took a 'high-ranking' delegation to the Conference) to speak in the debate on 'law and order'. The Unionist Monday Club did discuss the situation and, along with those who ran the Tory Conference, permitted the sale of a scurrilous pamphlet from Belfast which was nothing but a filthy diatribe against the Catholic population. (Later, Biggs-Davison, a Catholic Tory MP, had the pamphlet withdrawn because it attacked the Catholic Church —but he had not one word to say about the attack on other Northern Ireland organisations associated with the Catholic people. Apparently he considered them all 'subversive'.)

The attitude of both conferences clearly revealed the bipartisan policy, first formulated by the British Tories, which continues to distort the whole struggle of the people in Northern Ireland for democratic rights, and assists in confusing the people of Britain, especially those in the trade union and labour movement, about the real issues confronting the working class in Northern Ireland and the dangers that the situation here has for that movement in Britain.

The Communist Party of Great Britain will discuss the whole issue at its November congress. A resolution, which will be put forward, will make clear the real issues and the overall responsibility of the British government. The resolution states:

> This 34th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain condemns the repressive policy being followed by the British Labour government towards the people of Northern Ireland. Endless repression will never solve

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the crisis. What is required is a complete turn in British policy, an end to repressive measures combined with urgent steps to introduce the necessary democratic changes, and the withdrawal of British troops.

We therefore call on the British labour and progressive movement to work for such a policy and to insist that the government reverse its present course and introduce essential and long-overdue democratic reforms.

Such an approach, if accepted and fought for, will bring lasting benefit to the workers of Britain and Northern Ireland.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR IPC. . .

John Ball

THE fact that two journalists from the International Publishing Corporation, publishers of the *Daily Mirror*, were chosen to write Harold Wilson's pamphlet arguing for cuts in living standards* should occasion no surprise. Rather, it is a reminder of the long-standing, close and growing relationship between the IPC and Labour's right wing. The *Daily Mirror*, with its spurious proletarian image and style (clipped sentences, folksy phrases, let's-talk-it-over-man-to-man approach), has oiled many an editorial supporting the Gunters, Carrons, (Lord) George Browns, Healeys, Jenkinses, Wilsons and the rest, together with their policies. Increasingly, since IPC absorbed Odhams in 1961 (and slaughtered the *Daily Herald* in 1964) the Mirror Group has been the hand-maiden of right-wing Labour policy-projection to the masses. The present pamphlet, which bears all the hall-marks of the one-sided government publicity during the Common Market referendum, expresses a coalescence of view between the government and Britain's largest publishing monopoly.

Lending their pens to Wilson for the occasion, and for the continuing propaganda war against living standards, are Lord Jacobson and Mr Geoffrey Goodman. The first, as Sydney Jacobson, started his *Mirror* life in 1952 as political editor, and switched to editing the *Herald* after IPC swallowed Odhams. He carried on as editor when the *Herald* became the (old-style, pre-Murdoch) *Sun*, was also chairman of Odhams Newspapers and more latterly was editorial director of IPC. Wilson conferred a barony on him earlier this year. Mr Goodman (formerly *News Chronicle* and *Daily Herald*) is industrial editor of the *Mirror* on leave of absence to do the Downing Street job.

* *Attack on Inflation—A Guide to the Government's Programme*: i.e. the policy of limiting pay rises at or below £6 a week, a figure which will not compensate for rising living costs.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There has always been a closeness between *Daily Herald* politicos and Labour leaderships, as one would expect. Francis Williams, pre-war *Herald* editor, was made head of the war-time Press and Censorship division of the Ministry of Information, and was later appointed Clem Attlee's Advisor on Public Relations. But 35 years ago the *Mirror* was a paper of considerable independence of view. Its links with the Labour leadership developed slowly, during the time of Gaitskell's rather than Attlee's leadership. From 1952 to 1963, Hugh Cudlipp—who was to become IPC chairman in 1968 when Cecil King was sacked from the job—was editorial director of the *Daily Mirror* and the then *Sunday Pictorial*. In 1962 John Beavan, who had edited the *Daily Herald* for the previous two years, was made political advisor to the Daily Mirror Group. Both are now life peers.

The flow of personnel from IPC to posts around Harold Wilson has been fairly steady. In 1965, Mr Gerald Kaufman, who had been on the political staff of the *Daily Mirror* for over ten years, was appointed Labour's Parliamentary Press Liaison Officer and held the job until he secured a Labour seat in the Commons in 1970. Mr Joe Haines, with the *Sun* 1964-68, was taken on by Harold Wilson as his Deputy Press Secretary in 1969 and was soon to lead the Downing Street Press Office. A most eminent example of the talent flowing from the IPC stable is Sydney Thomas Ryder, better known as Sir 'Don' Ryder, and Baron Ryder as of June 6 this year. In December 1974 Sir Don, chairman and chief executive of Reed International—IPC's parent company—was appointed industrial advisor to the government, with the anticipation that he would head the National Enterprise Board when it was set up.

In the middle of this story we find Cecil King, whose place in it is not without significance. He was chairman of Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd during 1951-63, then of IPC (and the Reed group) for 1963-68. He was sacked from the job (and the Bank of England accepted his resignation as a director) following his declaration in the *Daily Mirror* (May 10, 1968) that 'enough is enough' and that Wilson should go. He argued that what was needed was 'a fresh start under a fresh leader', and said it was up to the Parliamentary Labour Party 'to give us that leader—and soon.' Questioned about the King statement, Wilson said: 'This is a free country with a free press, and long may it remain so. I hope that newspaper proprietors will always have the same facilities for printing their views in newspapers they control as other citizens in this country.' Asked about his dismissal, Mr King said: 'I think it is the action of Labour members

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the Board over what I said a fortnight ago in the *Daily Mirror*.'

Let us conclude this short glance at the IPC-Labour relationship by saying that the passage of talent is not all in one direction. Alexander Jarratt was made managing director of IPC in 1970, following a distinguished career in the civil service, including the Cabinet Office—and including also his secretaryship of Harold Wilson's Prices and Incomes Board (PIB) during 1965-68. Aubrey Jones, who was chairman of the PIB for 1965-70 also stated his intention of joining IPC, but later decided against it.

These few facts outline a not uninteresting situation. The pioneers created the *Daily Herald* from nothing, as a support for working class agitation and education. Right-wing social democracy secured its severance from the labour movement, until today (as the *Sun*) it is a pro-Tory rubbish sheet. At the same time, Labour's right wing relies on the *Mirror* to project its policies: a paper in the hands of a monopolistic publishing empire and completely outside the control of the Labour Party and the trade unions. The story illustrates the fact that those who believe in capitalist democracy feel free to make full use of it.

Illustrative footnote from the *Daily Mirror* editorial, September 29, 1975: 'What is there for the Party to celebrate this grim September? **The Mirror gives its answer in two words: A LOT.** And you can put that up in lights along Blackpool's Golden Mile.'

'NO SUITABLE JOBS'

Steve Moorcroft*

'SORRY, we've got no suitable jobs available at the moment.' A familiar reply to the 80,000 Merseyside people of all ages and occupations who are presently on the dole. Young people, and especially school leavers, are particularly hard hit, where vast cuts in the number of apprenticeships in all trades has turned looking for the first job into something of a nightmare and a virtual impossibility, and many now face the prospects of long-term unemployment.

An account of the frightening increases in the number of young people being forced on to the dole queue, and the total inadequacy of the present measures being taken to overcome this problem, was given by Ron Thomas MP in an article in last month's issue of *Labour Monthly*. In the light of these disturbing facts, it is extremely

* Steve Moorcroft, aged 22, left college in June 1975 with a degree in biology. When he wrote this article he had applied for 15 jobs without success ('There's usually 200 to 300 applicants per job').

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

important to understand the problems which are affecting these people, and the consequences which arise from them.

Initially, being on the dole doesn't seem too bad. After all, how many people can actually say they enjoy their work? Long stays in bed in the morning, a chance to catch up on your reading, and, during the summer, obtain an enviable sun-tan in the back garden. All this is coupled, in the first few weeks of being unemployed, with the notion of it being just 'an extra little holiday' and the naive optimism that you're bound to get a job next week. However, all this soon gives way to the harsh realities of long-term unemployment, which in its turn brings economic insecurity, social degradation, frustration and a general lack of purpose in life.

Anyone who has been through the process of claiming social security or unemployment benefit cannot doubt the stamp of 'second class citizen' with which you become marked. Being shifted from one department to the next, standing for hours in queues, the filling in of an unending supply of forms, together with the general humiliation because you don't really know what is happening, are just some of the things to be contended with.

The financial 'rewards' of unemployment are totally unrealistic in view of the current cost of living. This economic situation is undoubtedly one of the most important aspects of unemployment, and is largely responsible for the characteristic 'symptoms' of boredom and loneliness. The unemployed are literally being priced out of society, and it is not being over-dramatic to say that many have a difficult job in merely remaining alive, never mind fulfilling an active and normal role in society. (A fact well shown by Pilger in an ITV documentary recently screened.)

This financial hardship affects both the need for something to occupy the day, and also the social activities of the evening. The cost of books has risen alarmingly beyond the reach of the majority of the unemployed (even the smallest paperback costs in the region of 50p). The average price of a visit to the cinema is in the region of £1, and is thus also out of the question. All this, together with the television companies' latest policies of austerity which have hit strongly at afternoon broadcasting, and the government proposed cut-backs in social services spending, have only served to increase the difficulty of the unemployed being able to spend their time in anything approaching a satisfying way.

Evening social activities become inevitably restricted, which often leads to strained relations both within and outside the family. Many friends simply lose touch, particularly among young people

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where not being able to dress fashionably introduces a further element of alienation.

It is no coincidence that Merseyside, which has one of the highest unemployment levels in the country, also has one of the highest crime rates. The entire society is constructed around the appropriation of property, and is continually encouraged by a barrage of advertising material. Unemployed youngsters, who cannot afford to buy anything, and often driven on by envy of their working friends who have new clothes and records, turn to shoplifting and other forms of theft as the only remedy.

Others who have nothing to do all day, except stand around street corners, are tempted to crime, often just as a means of amusing themselves. Many cars in Liverpool are taken every day only to be found several hours later a few miles away, where they have been dumped after a 'joy ride'. Destruction of property, such as writing on walls and smashing windows, is particularly rife in Kirkby, a town which can 'boast' the highest unemployment level in the Common Market. The increasing violence at football matches is strongly related to the increases of youth unemployment and must be one of the main contributing factors.

Some youngsters, driven by desperation and despair, take the train to London in search of the 'streets paved with gold'. There the majority end up hungry, homeless and without friends, or may become victims of more disastrous consequences outlined in ITV's recent showing of *Johnny Go Home*.

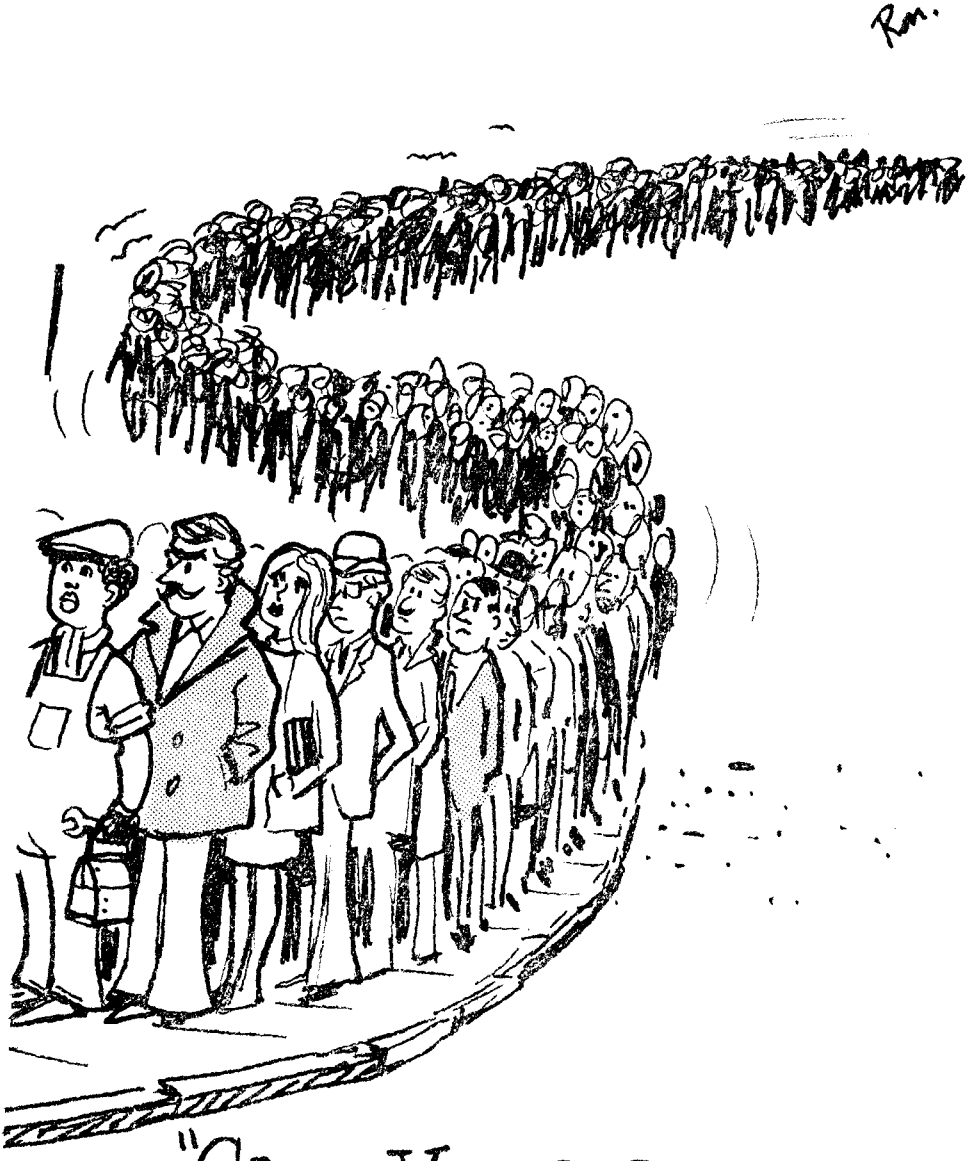
The only people who seem to be gaining from the present situation are the armed forces: faced with nothing but a long stay on the dole, school leavers and other young people are enticed into signing up.

The suggestions for introducing community work are merely a means of obtaining cheap labour. If the work is available why can't they be employed on a normal basis? Calls for banning youngsters from football matches, and the introduction of stronger penalties for vandals, which are frequently advocated by the press and television, really ignore the basic causes and thus cannot hope to be successful. In a recent address to the Police Superintendents' Association, Chief Superintendent Robert Taylor of the Metropolitan Police called for vandals to be sent to labour farms to do work such as compulsory crop picking without pay. Not only is this an outrageous proposition in support of slave labour, but also clearly shows a total lack of understanding of the problem.

The only viable, long-term solution towards solving these problems must include full employment; this stands as a priority.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Give a Year for Britain"

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIRST VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNION

Tess Gill*

AS the Summer Palace gleams gold and white in September sunlight Leningrad holiday-makers play games with the Jester fountains built by Peter the Great which spray the unwary with water activated by hidden attendants. Photographs inside the palace graphically illustrate the ugly shell which was all that was left after the looting and wanton destruction of the Nazi occupation. The present beauty is the result of skilled, patient reconstruction over the years, using the fragments of original masterpieces as the basis of their art.

During the years of the Leningrad siege one million out of the four million inhabitants perished, yet miraculously they collectively found the strength and courage to withstand the bombing, starvation and cold. A diary of a nine year old girl, kept in the museum of the mass burial ground of 300,000 dead, where a statue of Mother Russia greets the endless stream of people, eyes still wet with tears for their dead, tells the story of the siege in curt sentences listing the death of all her relatives until she is left alone to be rescued by the Komsomol, too late to save her life.

Today a woman who survived tells how for three years afterwards, having left Leningrad for ever, she could not feel any emotion, living in a grey, dead world, only gradually shed as she recovered her humanity. Now working in a Black Sea resort she is able to laugh and joke while showing foreign visitors the tree of friendship where all nationalities have grafted branches on to a cypress tree—a living symbol of the Soviet people's determination that the suffering of war should not return.

Without understanding the devastation to life and homeland caused by the second world war, in a country only just recovering from the 1914-21 period of war, revolution and foreign intervention, it is impossible to start to understand the present hopes, fears and plans of the people. Women and men now in their middle years are the teenage orphans of soldiers and war victims, probably only recently gaining a proper home of their own in the vast rehousing programme which, over the last five years alone, has rehoused one in five families. They wish above all to give their children all the family

* Tess Gill is the co-author with Anna Coote of *Women's Rights: A Practical Guide*. Penguin, 1974.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stability, happiness and plenty of which they were deprived.

For people who have seen the physical damage caused to whole generations, not only by the dire toll of war but also the insufferable burden of labour required to fuel the economy during and immediately after the war, health becomes a major concern, to an extent which may seem alien to those who have suffered less. It was discovered after the war that many women had become infertile as a direct result of heavy manual labour that became their lot while men were fighting and dying on the front. Since then, and now, all women have six-monthly gynaecological check-ups.

The first holiday facilities built were in handsomely spacious sanatoriums along the Black Sea coast, where workers on a doctor's certificate earn vouchers for 24 days relaxation of mind and body.

The new park and pleasure grounds combine a commemoration of the war heroes, grief at their death, with a pride and confidence in the future. The rate of construction, although not considered satisfactory—building workers, along with teachers and medical workers, were among those given special wage increases recently—is staggeringly rapid compared with our country's sluggish progress. Prefabricated units pile upon one another in miles of stereotyped blocks amid uncultivated scrub-land. The effect is not pleasing to the eye, but the emphasis is on giving every family a home; aesthetic landscaping, the luxury of pleasing architecture, is only beginning to be feasible.

Socialist emulation in the work place, a concept difficult to translate into our terms because of the foreign nature of an incentive other than profitability, brings its own rewards to workers, in terms mainly of collective bonuses when annual production targets are fulfilled. Pioneer camps where children holiday during summer months, more and better kindergartens, palaces of culture providing sport and theatre facilities, are the common forms of such rewards together with vouchers for sanatorium and holiday centres and some individual cash bonuses in addition. One such palace of culture, attached to a watch factory outside Leningrad, was having a crammed showing of modern art with a long queue waiting their turn. Both the audience, workers, the artists themselves, students and intellectuals, and the work itself, with such a range of skill, style and content, was so varied that no overall label would have been appropriate. Religious themes, abstract doodles, Salvador Dali symbolism, cheerful primitivism, led to animated discussions and varied comments from the audience.

Wage differentials are comparatively low, with 140-150 roubles a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

month being the average worker's wage, both in countryside and town. The director of a factory might earn 300-400 roubles. The unskilled beginner 80-100 roubles. The skilled worker 250-350. Present changes decrease, not increase, differentials. Women, still figuring as mothers in popular mythology, are very much respected as workers in reality. A recent delegation from the US, having critically denounced a system where women are expected to work outside the home even when they have children, were brought face to face with the wife of a manager of a factory who was working there herself as a skilled worker. In answer to their puzzled questions as to why should she, the wife of a manager, work in the factory (didn't her husband earn enough to keep her?), she said she had been working for seventeen years and liked being part of the collective. She was not going back to being a slave in the kitchen; they had enough money but she liked to work. Even with considerably less leisure time than men—because sharing the work-load within the home is still not a reality, though becoming more common among young couples—Soviet women recognise the strength and dignity of being socially productive.

The Soviet Women's Committee see the main problem for women in the shortage of nurseries outside the main cities (where they are more or less sufficient). New housing estates take time to provide the necessary facilities, so mothers with young children may stay at home a few years. As long as a woman works outside the home for twenty years, which 96 per cent of them do, she qualifies for a pension and other benefits in her own right. If she stays at home while her children are still young she retains her trade union membership and rights of participation. With a shortage of labour there is no problem when she is able to return to work.

While the development of consumer production has taken second place to capital investment, and shops still suffer from shortage of goods so that the influx of any wanted item may lead to a queue, already there are services which in our highly developed consumer society are absent. Laundries in all city areas are cheap and a labour-saving alternative to the launderette. Shops stock cooked and partly cooked food at accessible prices to save cooking time. All restaurants have fixed prices, so, while facilities are still far too few and booking is frequently necessary, any citizen can afford a celebration meal out anywhere.

To read across from our culture to Soviet culture without examination can be misleading. The plethora of white brides in Moscow might convince the unwary visitor that vows of obedience, church

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weddings and feelings of submission were the lot of Soviet girls. The marriage is, however, likely to have taken place in a secular marriage hall, the first destination of the couple to be Lenin's tomb, followed by a gay night out in a Moscow restaurant where, while still dressed in white, the bride dances gaily to Russian, Jewish and Georgian music, interwoven with Anglo-American pop songs, before taking her voucher-won holiday on the Black Sea.

After a fortnight's visit, a kaleidoscope of impressions is inevitable, in a country which is many countries, thousands of miles apart, both geographically and culturally, from the wine-drinking, jovial *machismo* of the Georgians to the more sober, though not less friendly rationality of the Leningradians. Certain impressions remain constant in the whirl: a society of common purpose, so at variance with the class battle, where a grasp of fundamental communist political realities and aspirations make discussions a rewarding delight even when differences emerge; a people intent on building a society giving material and cultural facilities to all, not a few, in a world of peace with honour.

PORTUGAL: REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Carlos Plácido*

THE steps taken, after the unsuccessful March 11 reactionary coup this year, to reinforce the ruling alliance between the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the mass movement of the Portuguese people, to follow a socialist path and to nationalise the national capitalist monopolies and big landed estates, marked the highest point so far reached by the Portuguese revolution since April 25, 1974.

But those steps also marked, specially after May 1975, the start of the biggest offensive by the capitalist international monopolies and governments against that revolution. The main reason for that offensive is the ambition of the shrinking capitalist world to keep at all costs the whole of Western Europe as one of its last great strongholds. Even a small country like Portugal is not to be allowed to become socialist, because she is still inside a Western Europe which is undergoing the continuous development of the international capitalist crisis, and which fears the influence of revolutionary, anti-monopoly ideas and positions from Portugal.

* Representative in Britain of the Portuguese Communist Party.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The imperialist and capitalist offensive used constant economic and diplomatic pressures, blackmails and threats, including denials of trade and credits, lowering and sabotage of production, gigantic ideological operations of confusion and brain-washing inside Portugal, with large scale, organised rumour-mongering and subsidising of newspapers, according to well-tried CIA destabilisation techniques; it used a constant, hysterical anti-Communist and anti-MFA campaign by the international capitalist mass media; it used widespread arson, by sophisticated means, destroying thousands of acres of rich Portuguese forests.

The leadership of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS) has allowed itself to be used by the monopolies' offensive. The results of the April elections—which had been fully agreed to lead exclusively to the drafting of a constitution—were used as if they had had an entirely different purpose. In July the PS decided to leave the existing coalition government, and this, together with the anti-Communist position of the PS, opened the door to a wave of terror attacks by organised fascist gangs—not spontaneous actions amongst the population as alleged by the international capitalist mass media—against a number of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) premises. Approximately forty of these were raided and bombed, or ransacked and burnt down.

This was also made possible because the imperialist and monopolist offensive, together with the PS leadership positions, led to deep divisions within the armed forces and the MFA itself, with the ousting from leading positions of some of its most progressive members, such as Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves, in September.

Dr Mário Soares, the PS leader, came to last month's Labour Party Conference to tell his friends in the Socialist International, Messrs Callaghan and Wilson, that he was in favour of socialism and of the nationalisations in Portugal. But Dr Mário Soares forgot to tell the Conference that the PS leadership had often opposed the take-over of the monopolies and large farms there.

Nationalisations are a very important step towards socialism, but by themselves—as is well known in Britain—they do not mean socialism. Socialism will only come about with the take-over of both the political and economic levers by the political organisation of the working class and their allies; and with independence from the international capitalist monopolies.

In the 1930s in Germany the Nazis used to call themselves 'socialists', saying they were against 'the plutocrats and capitalists'; and they reached power through elections. In Portugal, General Spínola's

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

followers and ex-fascists plus reactionaries inside and outside the CDS and PPD parties, call themselves social democrats; while the social democrats in the PS call themselves socialists.

The words 'right' and 'left' also need some clarification in relation to Portugal. The main threat is mostly from the monopolies and also from a large array of their agents and direct or indirect supporters who should all be included in the 'right'. But amongst those usually called 'left' there are ultra-left, pseudo-revolutionary groups which, by their disruptive tactics, have also aimed at embarrassing and hampering the strongest anti-monopoly force in Portugal (the PCP), thus often working for the objectives of the right.

The present Portuguese government, formed in September, reflects the recent developments quoted earlier in this article. It suffers from several conflicting trends. It includes individual PCP members but not in the form of a coalition. These members attempt to avoid further decline by supporting any positive measures the government may take. And in some organs of power, there are still elements who, although not in the PCP, are, nevertheless, committed revolutionaries.

There are many dangers threatening the revolution. Dangers of reactionary coups and even of civil war. Dangers of a slow slide towards right-wing positions and of repression inspired by the social democrats. But there are also many and great dangers of an overall, social democratic 'solution'—whatever its cover may be—which is absolutely non-viable for Portugal. This is due to the fact that the rates of profit the capitalists would need to get in Portugal under social democracy, are no longer possible because of the advanced stage of the Portuguese working class struggle, with the take-over of industry and land, and because of the overall economic resources available. The alternatives today are either progress towards socialism or a slide towards fascism. Social democracy in Portugal will, sooner or later, open the way to fascism.

The only viable solution for Portugal and for the serious economic problems she faces is, therefore, real socialism. And this can only be achieved by the Portuguese working class in alliance with other anti-monopoly, progressive sections, parties and forces, including all the progressive elements of the MFA and of all the armed forces. An armed alliance of all those sections will be necessary to guarantee socialism in Portugal because of the violent opposition to it, already clearly demonstrated by the capitalist monopolies, and by their agents, including counter-revolutionaries and fascists.

The PCP will have to play an essential role in a socialist path and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in a socialist solution, as the truly Leninist party of the Portuguese working class, as the party with the deepest roots in that class. At present, the PCP is fighting daily to defend the great achievements of the revolution, which include the taking over by the state of nearly 70 per cent of the main Portuguese monopoly industrial and finance economy, and also over one million acres of land, a good portion of it now in the hands of farm workers' co-operatives. Other achievements included average wage increases of 35 per cent in one year for the Portuguese workers, and include benefits for the small farmers needing now to be fully implemented.

But the PCP is not merely fighting a defensive battle. It is also making every effort to strengthen the alliance between the working class and all other anti-monopoly forces. The Portuguese trade unions, grouped in their Intersindical trade union united central organisation, are also an indispensible part of today's struggle for the building of socialism.

A temporary halt was imposed upon a number of forward developments of the Portuguese revolution, but there has also recently been great progress in revolutionary actions uniting massive numbers of workers and soldiers against the imperialist offensive. The great struggle in Portugal is for true democracy, which can only be socialist democracy, for national independence and for socialism.

PARTITION OF CYPRUS!

George Pefkos

ABOUT a year ago the General Assembly of the United Nations, after a most revealing discussion of the brutal aggression against the Republic of Cyprus by the Turkish army and its terrible consequences, unanimously decided in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the return of all refugees to their homes, and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Since then, after initiatives taken by the government of the Republic of Cyprus and the UN Secretary General the resolution was reiterated, but no action whatever was undertaken by the Turkish government for its implementation.

In fact, provocative steps have been taken by the Turkish government and its occupation forces, blatantly violating the decisions of the UN, such as the extension of the occupation of Cypriot territories, the repeated violation of the air space of the Republic of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cyprus and the 'decision' for a 'unilateral declaration of independence' (UDI) for the Turkish-occupied north.

The arrogance of the Turkish militarists, despite the almost complete isolation of Turkey inside and outside the UN, is the result of the support they receive from Nato, the CIA, the Pentagon and the American monopolists—the real power behind the US President—who have opposed the attempt by US Congressmen and Senators to maintain an arms embargo on Turkey.

Another factor here is the terrible economic conditions of the Turkish working people and the need, on the part of the Turkish militarists, to divert the attention of the mass of the Turkish people to 'nationalist aspirations'. The Turkish chauvinists are also worrying about the constant growth in the strength of a healthy progressive movement inside Turkey.

The Turkish government, Mr Denktash and their 'sponsors' do not at all like the situation in Cyprus being discussed at the UN. *Every time* the government of the Republic of Cyprus raises the problems of the island arising out of the Turkish aggression or out of more recent provocative actions, the Turkish chauvinists react violently. When Cyprus recently appealed to the UN, they threatened to occupy the whole of Cyprus. Their latest move is to discuss 'instant UDI' and force the inter-communal talks to breaking point by refusing to present, at the September meeting in New York, a detailed programme for discussion of their territorial 'claims' as Mr Denktash had promised.

The Turkish chauvinists and their supporters in Nato do not want any serious discussion or any 'noise' about Cyprus. They want to be left alone to implement their long-held aims for the partition of Cyprus and its transformation into a 'reliable and safe' Nato base. New steps in this direction were revealed by Miss Cherry Windridge, writing in the *Times* on September 9:

> I have recently returned from Cyprus researching for a group of Conservative members of parliament. . . . I managed to get into the occupied Turkish zone illegally, and it is true that the Turks are using the Clerides-Denktash talks as delaying tactics to consolidate their hold over the conquered territory by importing Turks from the mainland. . . . The Turkish Cypriots themselves are appalled at the nature of this new influx which consists of uneducated, illiterate shepherds and gypsies from Anatolia. . . .

The official Tory policy towards Cyprus was, however, best expressed by Sir Frederic Bennett, Tory MP for Torbay, who, replying recently to an appeal signed by Cypriot constituents in Torquay asking him

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to do something about the tens of thousands of refugees in Cyprus, wrote in a letter:

> I do beg you if you really have, as I am sure you do, the best interests of your kith and kin in Cyprus uppermost in your minds, to realise that today's tragedies of Cyprus did not begin with the Turkish invasion but rather with a total failure of President Makarios, immediately following on independence, to implement an agreed constitution which safeguarded the rights of both the majority and minority inhabitants. This is not a matter of argument. It is a sad fact of history.

The really sad fact of history is that the Tories in 1959 imposed on the Cypriot people a diabolical constitution typical of the old rotten colonial era. Quite deliberately and in accord with the imperialist design of divide and rule, the 1959 constitution provided for a Turkish vice-president elected separately by the Turks—18 per cent of the population. Both president and vice-president were to have a right of veto over foreign affairs, defence and internal security. In the Council of Ministers and the House of Representatives, the Turks were granted 30 per cent of the seats as well as 30 per cent of the posts in the civil service and security forces, and 40 per cent in the army! It was these deliberate provisions in a typical colonial constitution which brought about the present tragedies of Cyprus, and *not* President Makarios.

The fundamental rights and freedoms of the minorities in Cyprus must be guaranteed in every possible way. That is why, as long ago as 1965, President Makarios sent to the Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, an official document in connection with the rights of the minorities. The document, in the form of a Declaration signed by President Makarios and handed to all delegates at the UN, guaranteed 'the fundamental rights and freedoms to be enjoyed by every person irrespective of origin, religion, language or sex' in Cyprus. The Declaration of the Cypriot President contained 32 detailed points covering all aspects of political, social and religious life, and stated finally that 'the government of Cyprus is prepared to accept the presence of a UN commissioner with an adequate staff of observers and advisers to observe' the 'adherence to all' the foregoing rights and freedoms of all Cypriot citizens.

Czechoslovakia could have been 'a long way from Britain' as Mr Chamberlain pretended in 1938 when Hitler invaded that country, but Cyprus, a member of the Commonwealth, was a 'next door neighbour' to the ninety-nine square miles of 'sovereign' British military base when, in July 1974, tens of thousands of Turkish troops, armed with Nato weapons, marched into that island in broad daylight,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so to speak. And let it be remembered that the London-Zürich Agreement, imposed on the Cypriot people in 1959 by Nato, did not only grant a huge military base to a Nato ally with many other 'facilities' to the British forces in regard to the Cypriot ports, roads, airfield, etc, but alongside it a 'Treaty of Guarantee' was signed and 'offered' to Cyprus by three 'guarantor' powers, one of them Britain, aiming to safeguard the whole imperialist set-up.

Yet a Labour government, elected mainly by a labour movement with such a rich tradition of international solidarity actions, did not lift a finger to help a member of the Commonwealth and to discharge its obligations under the 'Treaty of Guarantee' for Cyprus.

The results of the Turkish invasion—known the world over—are indeed terrible. About 200,000 people, refugees in their own small country, facing a second winter in inhuman conditions; thousands killed, missing and wounded; 40 per cent of the Republic's land, and that the most fertile, under foreign occupation. Why? Certainly not because the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus could not live together in peace and harmony, but because Nato had designs on the strategic position of the island.

The Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus have lived in friendship for centuries, and they will do so again when they are left alone. Today, it must be quite obvious to all political observers interested in developments in the Middle East that the traitors, who carried out the coup against President Makarios, and the military organisers in Turkey, who followed it up with the invasion of Cyprus, were acting on behalf of the same patrons—namely, the leadership of Nato under US military and political personnel.

Since 1963, the CIA and the whole machine of Nato have been mobilised against the Republic of Cyprus and against the Cypriot President. The half-a-dozen or so plans prepared by Nato and its associates for a so-called solution for Cyprus, aiming actually for the partition of the island, have all been rejected by President Makarios and the Cypriot people, with the clear understanding that partition of the island and division into two communities will be catastrophic for the whole people of Cyprus, Greeks as well as Turks. Partition of Cyprus will not only create constant friction and difficulties between the two communities, but it will also provoke conflicts between Greece and Turkey with even broader implications. That is why today, when the Turkish Cypriots live under the most humiliating conditions of the double oppression of the Turkish occupation troops and the chauvinist elements of Rauf Denktash, they object to the final partition of their island as has been very

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recently witnessed. In the *Daily Telegraph* on September 24, the following was reported from Nicosia:

> The 120,000-strong Turkish-Cypriot community was bitterly divided last night over new powers given to Mr Rauf Denktash, their leader, to declare an independent Turkish-Cypriot state.

In fact, Mr Denktash was not given any such powers because he did not get the two-thirds majority needed for that purpose in accord with his own 'constitution'. Seven Turkish MPs walked out of the chamber, protesting angrily, while others deliberately did not attend the meeting. Those MPs who dared demonstrate publicly their opposition to Denktash expressed the genuine desire of the Turkish Cypriot peasants and workers, who do not want partition of the island and separation from their Greek neighbours and friends.

It is a pity that Fleet Street's newspapers did not a few weeks ago publish some of the most moving photographs of the Turks in Paphos, when, under the orders of Mr Denktash, they left their houses and villages, embracing and kissing their Greek friends and crying as if they were going to a mass Cypriot funeral.

While President Makarios was in New York at the beginning of October preparing for the battle of Cyprus in the United Nations, a lot of talk and newspaper reports were circulating about so-called 'mediations' by the Nato powers, the EEC countries and even Dr Kissinger for a 'just solution' of the Cyprus problem. However, the Cypriot people have no illusions about this kind of 'mediator' because they are quite clear that those who are responsible for the present tragedy of Cyprus can never really help to bring about a just solution to the Cypriot problem. A real solution for Cyprus can only be found within the context of the UN: by implementing the UN resolution of November 1974, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the return of all refugees to their homes, and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, with the two communities living together in harmony, solving their own common problems.

The proposal put by the USSR, the most sincere and consistent friend and supporter of Cyprus and the Cypriot people, for a conference on Cyprus by all members of the UN Security Council and other interested countries from the non-aligned world, is a most positive step, and as such is supported by President Makarios and the Cypriot people, the Greek government and people, and by many other interested countries.

Here, in Britain, there is also wide support for the Cypriot people

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the justice of their case. The Labour and Communist Parties, the TUC and many other organisations of the labour movement have called for the immediate implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus. The common interests of the British and Cypriot peoples demand that more should be done for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the return of the tens of thousands of refugees to their homes and for the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

CHILDREN: A BATTERED SERVICE

Andrew Bennett MP

ONE of the least heralded successes of the post-war Labour government was the setting up of a separate children's service. We must now ask ourselves if we are prepared to sit back and see it quietly murdered.

The service grew steadily during the 1950s and 60s to provide for those children who were taken into care. In 1963 a new Act of parliament extended the work of the local authority into remedying the situations which made this necessary. The service continued to improve, and was slowly building up a core of highly skilled professional workers. Criticism in the 1960s was not about the quality of the service, but concerned the problem of overlapping with other social services, resulting in conflicting advice, and also of some cases slipping between the different parts of the social services. The Seebohm Committee tried to offer a solution.

The overall success of the local authority children's departments suggested they could take on new problems. The 1969 Children and Young Persons Act gave them a major new role: to deal with, and reform, the so-called 'young offender'. The Act did not, however, guarantee to provide the money, the staff, or the purpose-built accommodation necessary to make it work. Perhaps, like the 1963 prevention Act, given time the service could have met the requirements of the legislation, but time was not given. Like someone trying to eat and digest a meal on the big dipper, the local authority children's departments were trying to meet the requirements of the 1969 Act and enter into the Seebohm reorganisation at the same time.

This reorganisation made fantastic demands on resources. To start with, it introduced into the children's service the idea of a staff structure and hierarchy, with the top jobs filled by professionally

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

qualified staff, who were now expected to organise but not have their own case loads. The other social services, which had provided for the elderly and the mentally ill, had fewer qualified staff before re-organisation, and so most top jobs now went to the core of professionally qualified children's officers. After reorganisation there were fewer officers experienced in child care to deal directly with the people they were supposed to help.

Seebohm had put forward the idea of the generic social worker—the so-called all purpose worker—in order to avoid overlaps. The theory was that if social service offices were spread over an area at about the frequency of local post offices, they would belong to the neighbourhood and be better placed to help individuals and utilise the voluntary resources of that neighbourhood. Such area offices could only hope to have staffs of two or three, so they would have to be people who could cope with all types of cases. (In practice area offices have always covered much larger areas, often with teams of eight to twenty officers; these could easily provide specialisation.) As a result of this theory many officers were plunged into fields of work for which they had not been trained, and the service still remained remote.

The generic social worker is particularly susceptible to community pressure. The needs of the elderly, the handicapped, the disabled and mentally ill, are more easily discernible to the community than those of the children. The result is that the hard-pressed generic social worker is always tempted to reduce the work with children in favour of others.

Next, before the services could draw breath, 1973-74 saw local government reorganisation. Even greater hierarchies were created and more physical reorganisation took place; the cracks in the services began to look like gaping holes. Particularly as in 1973 unemployment increased the stress on family life, and from 1969 onwards the growing housing shortage had added to the problems of many families. The last year has shown more and more evidence of the weakness in the existing services.

Going through the House of Commons is the Children's Bill which, if it is not to be self-defeating, will need extra resources. The children's service desperately needs a massive blood transfusion, but it seems only too likely that pressure by central government for local authorities to make cuts in expenditure will result in the application of leeches. Local authorities see the social services as a good area to make cuts, and their clients are not likely to make a great deal of fuss.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The service is almost impossible to measure in cash terms, or in terms of human welfare. A carefully carried out supervision order on a thirteen year old boy may keep him out of further trouble; it may save expense and misery. Regular visits to a family at risk may keep their children out of care, but you cannot prove it. Many local authorities are approaching their cuts with all departments taking a fixed percentage. As the children's service is almost all about people, you can focus very little of the cuts on materials, unless by delaying the painting of buildings.

In a period of economic crisis we should not be talking of cutting the social wage, least of all that which is there to help the casualties of society. The very fact of crisis increases the need for social services, and particularly the children's service which is already hard pressed. Any cuts now will not be temporary set-backs: they will be the murder of an already battered service.

DIEGO GARCIA SCANDAL—ANOTHER WATERGATE

Commander Edgar P. Young
RN Retired

REVELATIONS from many sources, mostly American, regarding the conception and development of a major US sea/air base on the British island of Diego Garcia, plumb in the middle of the Indian Ocean, suggest a scandal comparable with that of the Watergate affair—a scandal which embraces not only the US State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA, but also the leaders of both the main political parties in this country, and not least, unfortunately, of the Labour Party.

The most recent of these revelations is, of course, that made by Senator Edward Kennedy about the way in which the entire population of the island (about 1,000 British subjects) were deported, in effect, to Mauritius by the British authorities, by the simple procedure of buying up the copra plantations which were their only means of livelihood, and closing down the industry based on the copra, thus presenting them with the option between starvation in Diego Garcia and what has proved to be semi-starvation and hardship in Mauritius.

The hypocrisy of the British government in this connection is exposed by the fact that, when they bought Diego Garcia and certain

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other islands from Mauritius in 1966, they announced (*Guardian*, November 11, 1965) that 'there will be a British civil administration for the 1,400 inhabitants.' There is now only a Lieutenant-Commander RN, designated as the 'Political Resident', with 30 to 60 British naval ratings!

We may congratulate the *Guardian* for having 'broken the ice' in this matter by giving candid publicity to the scandal (September 10 and 11, 1975) when the *Times*, for instance, was silent on the subject (as it has remained). We may congratulate even more the *Sunday Times* for having produced the devastating exposure of the whole business which filled two whole pages of its issue of September 21. Between them they have put the British government on the spot regarding not only the humanitarian and legalistic issue of the heartless (and deliberate) depopulation of Diego Garcia, done obviously with the object of making the island acceptable to the US as a strategic base, but also, as the *Guardian* pointed out editorially, 'the quite separate question of whether the West needs a station of this size in the Indian Ocean.'

The rich fund of actual fact contained in the *Sunday Times* article should make government critics in parliament aware of the brazen deception to which they have been subjected by government spokesmen, notably by the Secretary of State for Defence, Roy Mason, against whom they may now feel emboldened to be more aggressive than they were during the last session.

First, though, we should ditch forever the sedulously cultivated lie expressed by the *Guardian* when it wrote editorially (September 11): 'The Diego Garcia base was not an American initiative so much as the response to a Russian one.' A clue to the truth is provided by the *Sunday Times*:

> It is less easy to bamboozle the American Congress than the British Parliament. Under intense questioning from a Congress committee . . . Air Force Major-General George Loving announced that he would like to see the island used for the original purpose Denis Healey had in mind in the mid-sixties—as a base for F1-11s which have a range of 5,600 miles and can carry nuclear warheads. . . . In its secret memo, the State Department admitted that weapons would be stored on the island.

The reference to Denis Healey's 'original purpose' in the mid-sixties, when he was Secretary of State for Defence, is of interest because of the findings of the Brookings Institute, a private research centre in Washington, DC, in a report headed 'The Changing Soviet Navy', published in 1973. It is available in the House of Commons, and it was quoted extensively there in a speech by Robin F. Cook, Labour

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MP for Edinburgh Central, in a debate on the Royal Navy on July 9, 1975. Not a word of this important speech was quoted in the *Times* report on the following day.

According to this report, it was not until 1968—i.e. not until two years after Britain had detached Diego Garcia from Mauritius, as an express condition for Mauritian independence, and leased it to the US for 50 years, for use as 'a communications centre'—that Soviet combatant units 'began to deploy to the Indian Ocean'. Since then, the report continued, the Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean 'grew rapidly for two years, but then levelled off until 1972.'

Thus cause and effect have been reversed, especially when account is taken of the fact, made public by the *Sunday Times* and others, that the 'communications facilities' which the Americans have established on Diego Garcia are 'a transmission station for the Very Low Frequency (VLF) radio signals on the Omega navigational system developed by America to help nuclear missile submarines to position their missiles accurately,' e.g. from the Indian Ocean on to targets in the USSR and China.

The truth of the matter is that, whereas the main US argument throughout the last seven years or so has been the need to counter an alleged Soviet naval threat in the Indian Ocean, the US Navy was eager to have an island base there long before the Soviet Navy appeared on the scene.

Much evidence could be adduced, moreover, to show that the prime movers in this disgraceful business were the British Labour government of 1966, and there is more evidence to show that succeeding British governments, Conservative as well as Labour, right up to that of today, have been prepared to lie like troopers in order to deceive their parliament and their people—and incidentally in order to help their fellow conspirators in the US to quell opposition in Congress and Senate to the creation of the sea/air base on Diego Garcia which will cost them at least $175 million in itself, and will 'open the door to an $800 million increase in the annual budget of the US Navy.'

The most recent example of falsehood, and a particularly blatant one, is provided by comparison of Roy Mason's *oral* answers on July 22 to parliamentary questions about Diego Garcia and his *written* answer on August 1 to a further question on the same subject. What he had described on the first occasion as 'only a very austere communications facility for aircraft and ships', 'without facilities for replenishment, stores and recreation', and expressly 'not a base', had qualified only ten days later for description as 'a base' by his

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own definition. The runway is to be extended from 8,000ft to 12,000ft; the lagoon is to be dredged to provide sufficient anchorage for up to about a dozen ships, 550ft of berthing space being provided also; aircraft parking space and oil storage facilities are to increase to match this expansion; personnel accommodation is to be increased from 450 to 750.

Now responsible Ministers of the Crown do not prevaricate on such a scale unless they have some dark purpose which they dare not confess, as Neville Chamberlain had at the time of Munich in 1938.

If this base on Diego Garcia becomes a reality, the whole littoral of the Indian Ocean, including notably Malaysia where Britain has huge investments, will be within range of US bombing aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, and will be susceptible to harrying by US carrier strike forces operated from there: while those forces in turn will have a nuclear base, as noted above, for attacks on the Soviet Union. 'If we make it easy for the Navy to go places and to do things,' said US Senator Richard Russells recently, on this subject, 'we will find ourselves always going places and doing things.'

Let us save them from that unpleasant fate, this time, as we are apparently still in a position to do, if one may believe what was said by Lord Goronwy-Roberts, speaking for the present Labour government, in a House of Lords debate on March 19, 1975:

> The Americans do not plan to base ships or aircraft at Diego Garcia and there will be no facilities of any kind for nuclear weapons. . . . I give that assurance and add that, if there were such a proposal, they would have to come to us.

CORRESPONDENCE

Trade Union Education

J. R. SHANLEY'S piece (*LM*, August 1975) on the first five texts in the trade union education series, published by Arrow Books in association with the Society of Industrial Tutors, contains serious misrepresentations. Since the series, although having a common educational purpose, does not aim at ideological unity, I confine my comments to the attack upon my own contributions.

In the course of his review (p 367) Shanley attributes to me the view that 'the "aim" of industrial relations is to "achieve a 'mature' structure of collective bargaining within which conflicts are resolved without fundamental change".' These words (*The Organised Worker*, p 92) appear in a context which, it is perfectly clear, represents an attempt to summarise various schools of thought, ranging from authoritarian to socialist. I describe (in the same paragraph from which Shanley has quoted) the particular view there summarised as 'the "safety-valve" theory'. In my essay in *Industrial Studies 1*, I devote several pages to a criticism of this theory. Thus, when Shanley quotes my summary

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a view to which it is clear I am opposed, and attributes that view to me, he is guilty either of the most slovenly reading of my text, or of straightforward falsification.

Elsewhere Shanley asserts that my 'commitment is to "humanistic goals of freedom and reason",' and goes on: 'Even non-socialist trade unionists will recognise that these words are a precise summary of the lengthy speeches being delivered by Sir Keith Joseph and the declared objectives of "Aims for Freedom and Enterprise".' The words he ascribes to me here are in fact part of a quotation—included in my essay—from Richard Hyman's study of *Strikes* (Fontana, 1972). Hyman is, of course, a Marxist critic of orthodox industrial relations and, despite my serious disagreements with his sociology of trade unionism (which are explained in my essay), I am very happy to share with him, and with humanists in general, a commitment to freedom and reason. The processes of Shanley's thought, which equate these goals with those of Sir Keith Joseph, are literally fantastic. If your reviewer's concepts of socialism and Marxism exclude a commitment to freedom and reason as these words are commonly understood in the humanist tradition, we might not unreasonably speculate as to whether they derive from the speeches (even lengthier than Sir Keith's), and the practices, of another Joseph.

This same Richard Hyman is involved in another of Shanley's random attacks on my essay, in the course of which I quote and criticise Lenin's famous dictum that 'trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie.' Shanley complains that I have cited 'someone named H. Ryman' (*sic*) as the secondary source of this quotation. Note the silly little trick of pretended ignorance of a writer who, we are supposed to infer, is so obscure that even his initials may humorously—though, of course, quite innocently—be reversed. Be careful, Mr Shanley, it is a double-edged weapon; I wonder how many readers are asking, at least as innocently, 'who is this fellow Stanley anyway?'

Your reviewer contrives to imply that I am reliant on Hyman for my quotation from Lenin, whereas it is quite clear from the context that I am criticising Lenin in the course of a more extended criticism of Hyman's school of sociology. Shanley goes on, however, to tell us triumphantly what Lenin *really* wrote—merely by quoting the same passage and its surrounding sentences from a different English translation than the one used by Hyman*. In its extended form we have Lenin going on to say that 'the task of Social-Democracy is to combat spontaneity.' This detracts nothing from the point I was making in the essay, though, of course, Shanley is entitled to prefer the longer extract, as Hyman the shorter. If I wished to enter into the game, I could ask readers to contemplate the implications for British trade union politics at the present, of the next sentence of Lenin, before which Shanley chose to stop. 'Thus,' says Lenin, 'our task, the task of Social-Democracy, consists of a *struggle*

* Shanley uses the translation (of Lenin's *What is to be Done?* from which the passage is taken) by J. Fineberg, published by International Publishers, 1929. In that edition we read of 'ideological *subordination*. . . .' In 1961, Moscow Foreign Languages Publishing House issued Vol V of Lenin's *Collected Works* in which *What is to be Done?* appears in a translation by Fineburg and Hannâ. In this version, Fineburg has corrected 'subordination' and replaced it with 'enslavement'. This substitution is also preferred in the latest English edition, published by Oxford University Press in 1963, and subsequently by Panther Modern Society in 1970, in which the translators are S. V. and Patricia Utechin. Hyman has used one of these later translations.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against spontaneity, in order to *drag* the labour movement *away* from this spontaneous tendency to go under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to attract it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy.'

It is precisely this uncritical, selective and theological treatment of certain historical texts which I was attacking in my essay. Certainly Lenin's writings are important to an understanding of the Russian revolution, and to the evolution of political thought. They cannot be dragged out as though they were received religious inspiration in order to answer the problems which workers face today in Britain. I must also point out that nowhere in my text is there any phrase remotely resembling that which—in the context of the discussion of Lenin—Shanley ascribes to me. I did not write 'this represents the socialist criticism of trade unions to the present day'. Shanley may, in his carelessness, have *thought* I said this; he may in his malice have *hoped* that I said such a vulnerable thing. But to invent and ascribe to me words which I did not use is unpardonable, more particularly since I very carefully explained that, in discussing socialist criticism of orthodox industrial relations, 'there is space here to distinguish only two broad themes within the critical sector of writings, though in practice this, too, is an oversimplification of tendencies and controversies which, within the socialist tradition, have many variations'.

Shanley's hostility in general seems to derive from an embittered —not to say sectarian—attitude towards what he describes as an *élitist* 'academic intellectualism' which, he believes, has assumed a dominant role in trade union education following the demise of the National Council of Labour Colleges and the assumption by the TUC of overall control.

A. J. TOPHAM
Hull

J. R. Shanley replies:

Topham claims falsification. He states that 'it is quite clear from the context' of his essay that he is 'criticising Lenin in the course of a more extended criticism of Hyman's school of sociology.' In the section of his book headed 'Socialist Critics', this is his actual context: 'Lenin went so far as to claim that "trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie." This theory [i.e. Lenin's —J. R. S.] depends on a particular sociology of trade unions in which their structure and government imitate the forms of authority which prevail in society's main institutions—schools, industrial companies, governments.' This concoction of nonsense is thus attributed to Lenin, not Hyman. (Lenin's actual description of how a trade union functions was in my review, p 366.) Topham, in his book, then uses this nonsensical attribution to attack the 'most intransigent critics on the left', who, he tells his students, 'see no important distinctions between different unions, different leaders, or between the nature of trade unions in, say, 1900, 1917 or 1974.' He continues: 'It would be remarkable indeed if the final wisdom on shop stewards had been established during the first world war, and even more startling if *Lenin's views* [emphasis added], based on observing these organisations as they existed in the early years of the century, were applicable today.' No mention of Hyman or his school!

The joint editors of the book summarised this section of Topham's essay in these terms: 'After considering how, *from Lenin to the*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

present day [emphasis added] critics have held that "trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie," he states his own view.' Still no mention of Hyman, only Lenin and unidentified 'critics'. Topham falsifies his own falsifications to maintain his charge of falsification, to the extent that he deceives his editors.

Although in his essay he quoted only one part of one sentence from Lenin, Topham claims I suppressed Lenin's real meaning because to disclose it would cause us to shudder at its 'implications for British trade union politics at the present'. Why readers of *Labour Monthly* should fear a TUC with a socialist leadership is beyond my comprehension. The editorial in the September issue of *Labour Monthly* showed that the concept of raising 'spontaneous' trade union movements to being 'organised agencies for superseding the very system of wages labour and capital rule' did not originate with Lenin, but was embodied in a resolution of the General Council of the First International in 1866. As that same editorial demonstrated the relevance of socialist policies to the discussions of the 1975 TUC, I need not further elaborate.

Topham writes: 'If your reviewer's concepts of socialism and Marxism exclude a commitment to freedom and reason as these words are commonly understood in the humanist tradition, we might not unreasonably speculate. . . .' Indeed he need not. He and others will find my *socialist concepts of freedom and reason* fully set out in such works as the *Communist Manifesto, Anti-Dühring* and the *Critique of Political Economy,* where also is to be found ample evidence that 'freedom and reason as commonly understood' are used to cloak opposition to specific socialist concepts of freedom and reason. Criticism of Marxism as a denial of freedom began in Marx's lifetime. Marx was denounced by one critic as a 'contuminous, insolent, cantankerous, snarling monster'.

Hyndman wrote: *'Marx's deep animosity to the existing social order of things* [emphasis added] has prevented many of the well-to-do class from appreciating his masterly life work.' If Marx had confined his 'masterly life work' to an expression of sympathy with the oppressed without opposition to their oppressors, humanists such as Lord Boyle, Lord Butler and the editor of the *Times* would be Marxists. They borrow from Marx's 'interpretation of the world' to deny the need to change it. They see the abolition of the existing social order as the abolition of all order.

I accept that my attribution of the 'safety-valve' theory to Topham was incorrect. But it is in the final chapter of *The Organised Worker* and that chapter is entitled 'Conclusions: What is the Role of the Shop Steward?' Conclusions are attributed there to 'some people' and to 'other people', but: 'We [i.e. Topham] are not suggesting that shop stewards will actually pause to examine their reaction to these ideas before starting work.' Full stop! Topham *does not* state his own view of the 'role of the shop steward', nor does he offer any criticism of these ideas of unidentified 'others'. Hence my mistake. My attribution was at fault, but my conclusion was right. Topham is opposed to fundamental change.

Topham is not concerned with this fellow, Shanley. He is startled that Lenin's views should be considered applicable today.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK REVIEWS:

British Trade Unionism
Allen Hutt
Lawrence & Wishart, 266 pp, £4

A REPRINTING of Allen Hutt's *British Trade Unionism* is an event in the labour movement, making available to a fresh circle of young readers (of all ages) a work which has inspired successive generations since it first appeared in 1941. Now produced in its fifth revised edition, it contains the distilled essence of Britain's industrial-political battles and trade union development of the past 175 years. Hutt's book has given countless trade unionists that essential foundation on which to understand the movement: a knowledge of its traditions, its strengths, weaknesses and its great potentialities, plus, it must be added, the rather humbling realisation of the courage, hard work and dedication with which nineteenth- and twentieth-century men and women have built a movement which can now challenge (and defeat) governments and carry the working class forward.

One of today's glaring necessities is to understand the role played by right-wing social democracy in holding back the socialist understanding, policies and work of the unions, and the manner in which they seek to do it. In Hutt one can follow its path: before, during and after the general strike, through the years of class-collaborative Mondism, then the MacDonald era, and later the post-war decades when Labour governments have shunned left-wing policies in their efforts to prop up the declining capitalist system. The lessons of the past, which he so brilliantly drew, are vital to seeing through the tactics of the dominant right wing in the Wilson government, just as a knowledge of the great battles of the left in the movement help in framing the policies which can secure maximum left unity.

I had the good fortune to discuss at some length with Allen his ideas for the chapter which would bring the book forward from 1960. But illness intervened and took him with tragic swiftness, so that he was unable to take on the task. John Gollan has therefore handled the years 1961-74: years, as he says, unprecedented in the history of our trade union movement. The developing confidence of mood, spirit and policies, the growing effectiveness and the chronicled victories, all tell the same story: still no easy path forward, but the prying loose of many right-wing fingers and ideas which in previous times turned the movement from its essential tasks. We have experienced the heady, stormy battles against the Tories, the ejection of the Heath government, the growing impact on Labour Party policies of left ideas born and nurtured in the unions, the growth also of the impact of Communist ideas, along with the election of many union officials on a left unity platform. Herein lie the seeds of future advances.

Alongside the battles has been the growth of TUC membership to top the ten million mark—still a long way to go, however, to reach its full potential. In regard to this development, I would have wished that greater space had allowed a fuller treatment of the impact of white-collar union development on the movement, as also perhaps of the economic and political impact of inflation and parasitism on the trade union consciousness, policies and activity.

This is a book whose value it is difficult to overestimate. Would that every shop steward had a copy, every lay and full-time official in the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trade union movement, just for a start. It makes a magnificent presentation gift for any union occasion, or family present. It has the quality which Tommy Jackson must have had in mind when he spoke of his favourite works as 'old friends to keep.' ALAN BROWN

Crisis and Criticism
Alick West
Lawrence & Wishart, 284 pp, £4

ARNOLD KETTLE, in his foreword to this book, makes mention of the group, including Alick West, who in the 1930s 'pioneered a British Marxist literary-critical practice' at a time when 'the work of continental Marxists was scarcely known and much of it not yet written.' Alick West is an important example of the originality, depth and range of that group (writing in *Communist Review, Modern Quarterly, Marxist Quarterly* and finally *Marxism Today*), and the issue of the book again, 28 years after it was first published, is to be welcomed.

Elisabeth West contributes an introduction of more than usual value; in this she makes a number of quotations from Alick West's writings not in this volume, which deepen the sense of dialectical approach which is so manifestly observable in this book. In his autobiography, she tells us, he felt it necessary to reject the slogan 'Culture is a weapon in the fight for socialism,' because it stated no more than a half-truth.

'I said that culture, as Caudwell had written of poetry in *Illusion and Reality*, heightens our consciousness of the world we want to win, and our energy to win it. In this sense it was true that culture was a weapon in the fight for socialism. But the truth depended on the greater truth that socialism is a weapon in the fight for culture. For our final aim was not the establishment of a political and economic structure, but the heightening of human life. Without this recognition, the slogan becomes a perversion of the truth since it degraded culture into a means of a political end.'

The introduction is a worthy and reasoned opening to a connected series of great range. Cultural theory from Blake to Coleridge, and from Coleridge through Matthew Arnold to T. S. Eliot, Herbert Read and I. A. Williams, is critically evaluated, and there follows a detailed analytical interpretation of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Following this are essays on Bunyan, Defoe, Swift, Walter Pater and D. H. Lawrence, all with new things to say; and, in the case of Pater and Lawrence, far more positive and sympathetic and understanding than has been the general approach of Marxist critics.

At its high points, literature contains man's profoundest artistic emotional reaction to the whole of life; as life is itself a continuous activity, literature is not merely a contemplation but an active response as well as a mirror of life. To those who see literature in these terms, and not merely as a narcotic, this book has very great interest and very great value. BEN AINLEY

Postscript

In my review of *The Socialist Challenge* (*LM*, October 1975), I am horrified to find a mistake, six times repeated, for which I was responsible. In the third paragraph of the review (pp 470-1), on lines 7-8, 15, 19, 23-4, 29 and 39, occurs the word 'multilaterals' which in every case should have read 'multinationals'. Please accept this as a correction and an apology.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOOKING BACK—AND FORWARD

READERS of *LM* who have the useful habit of appreciating past events and drawing lessons from them will be looking forward to seeing how the fiftieth anniversary of the 1926 general strike is handled in the media and by our own trade union and trades council bodies.

We shall not get the best out of this history lesson if we allow the BBC and others to be the first to tell the many stories which still survive in living memory. Their editing would be enough to put a deadly slant on perfectly good recollections.

Readers might give some thought to this. There are several ways to help: 1. Ask those who haven't already done so to make notes of their own memories of the general strike and of events which preceded and followed it; 2. Ask for similar recollections from people involved in later (or earlier) strikes—all part of the continuing story; 3. Search (this one takes a lot more time) through local archives, newspaper files and other likely sources for contemporary accounts and pictorial material; 4. Give us suggestions of those who might be asked to write about events in 1976 in relation to these past events. Space in the journal for this material is being planned from the beginning of the year, so the sooner we receive news from any who can help, the sooner we can work it in.

Another thing. While explaining to people how they can contribute, don't forget to ask for help for our fund—another part of the continuing story. Donations in September totalled:

£99.20

REGULAR DONATIONS came from 'Oliver Twist' 70p, B D Youatt £3, Marie Philibert 25p, 'Socialist Sailor' £2, 'Patrick' 50p, M M and J W M (per L H NZ) 25p, K W R (US) £2.90, N J S Hughes £5, D Belenson £1, N Marcus £5, Ben Ainley £1, S Reynolds £1, Les Bates 25p, H Brindle 25p, Blackburn Branch 15p, Oldham Branch 15p, Stella and Len Perkins 25p, E C (Lochee) 50p, J Rink 25p, W J Glennie 50p, W Sumbler 20p, 'S Mill' £4, A Calder 25p, J D (Canada) £3.58, E Dymock 25p, A Wallace £6, L'Humanité 50p, A Corbett £1, R Paul 50p, Len Potter (plus extra in memory of Ivan Maisky) £4, W H Laithwaite £5, W J Daniel £1, I J Pearce 50p, R N Miller 50p, J Purton 37p.

OTHER DONATIONS came from: R Weller £2.40, A Sedler (in memory of RPD) £4, J Jackson £1, M Whelan 80p, J P Roper £1.40, A E Moffett £1, D G Varnfield £1.80, T D Tyson £1.80, E Walker (in memory of F H Walker) £5, K Badurczik 30p, Anon £1.40, R Hudson £1.80, I Rubenstein 30p, 'PhD' 80p, G L Shuttleworth 80p, Gwen Butcher £1.60, E Parker 25p, V Truelove £3.30, G J G (NZ) £1, Ned and John £1.80, K Routledge £1, W H Turner 80p, J O (Canada) £6.80, J J Knight £1, F G Hoyal 50p, D G (US) £2, J L (Canada) £2.

Our thanks to you all. **Nicola Seyd**

134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD (01-346 5135)

Bankers' orders to: National Westminster Bank Ltd, Finchley Central Branch A/c No 37564838, Code No 60-08-20

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POST FREE SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

for Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD

Home and Overseas (unsealed)	1 year	£4.20	
	6 months	£2.10	
USA		**Canada**	
1 year	$12.00	1 year	$12.50
(sealed	$19.00)	(sealed	$19.50)

Air Mail rates quoted on application

Please start my subscription from the

..... issue

Name.....

Address .....

.....

Special Student's Concession

1 year	£3.85
6 months	£1.95

I am a bona fide student at

.....

Please start my subscription from the

..... issue

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Please make cheques, etc. payable to Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Student Politics and Higher Education, Digby Jacks. Lawrence & Wishart, 176 pp, £4.50.

German Politics under Soviet Occupation, Henry Krisch. Columbia University Press, 312 pp, £8.25.

Keir Hardie, Iain McLean. Allen Lane, 184 pp, £2.75.

All Work and No Pay, edited by Wendy Edmond and Suzie Flemming. Falling Wall Press, 128 pp, 70p.

The Conquest of Time, H. Harwood. Regency Press, 116 pp, £1.20.

Understanding Philosophy, James K. Feibleman. Souvenir Press, 240 pp, £4.

Portugal, Antonio de Figueiredo. Penguin, 260 pp, 80p.

The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic, Hugh Brody. Penguin, 240 pp, 90p.

Marxists on Literature, edited by David Craig. Penguin, 528 pp, £1.50.

Power, Violence, Decision, W. J. M. Mackenzie. Penguin, 272 pp, £2.25.

Rebels with a Cause: the History of Hackney Trades Council 1900-1975, Barry Burke. Hackney Trades Council and Hackney Workers' Educational Association (Centreprise), 88 pp, 65p.

The Communist Movement: From Comintern to Cominform, Fernando Claudin. Penguin, 830 pp, £4.75.

Brighton and the General Strike, Ernie Trory. Crabtree Press, 32 pp, 20p.

LRD Guide to the Health and Safety at Work Act, Labour Research Department, 20 pp, 15p.

LRD Guide to the £6 Limit, Labour Research Department, 6 pp, 8p.

Published by Unity Publications Ltd and printed by
London Caledonian Press (T.U.) Ltd., Watford, Herts.—56533

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your Last Chance . . .

to buy your 1974 Bound Volume of

Labour Monthly

at the Reader's Concession price. Send £1.90 and your loose copies to:

UNITY PUBLICATIONS (FINCHLEY) LTD
134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N3 2PD

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS

(25p a line, minimum 90p. Cash with order to: Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.)

WANTED—secondhand books on Marxism, socialism, labour history, race relations, women's liberation, Collet's London Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Road, London, WC2. Tel: 01-836 6306.

SOCIALIST LIBRARIES and pamphlets bought. 01-876 7254. Hammersmith Books, Liffords Pl., SW13.

LABOUR RESEARCH

IMPORT CONTROLS

WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS

WHO PAID FOR THE YES VOTE?

DOCK LABOUR

20p, or 26½p by post, monthly
£3.18 per annum

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
78 Blackfriars Rd, London, SE1 8HF

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

No 63 **Fourth Quarter 1975** **25p**

Marxist-Leninist quarterly journal of the African revolution published by the South African Communist Party

Contents include:

Twenty Years of the Freedom Charter
Why Vorster is Preaching Detente

Annual subscription £1 post free
US $4 surface, $10 airmail

From your bookseller or Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street, London W1

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED